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## GROWTH OF THE NATION UNDER REPUBLICANISM.

The Republican party, as a political organization, dates its history from 1856. It came into power March 4, 1861, and from that time to the present, it has been responsible for the administration of national affairs.

Has it been faithful to its trust? This question has been passed upon by the people three times since 1861. First, in 1864, in Mr. Lincoln's re-election; second, in 1868, at the election of General Grant; third, in 1872, when the people returned the present incumbent by the largest popular majority ever given to a President. Thus it would appear that up to 1872, at least, the people had an abiding faith in Republicanism, and by their votes proclaimed to the world that the party had been faithful to its trust. Has it done anything since the last popular endorsement, to forfeit the confidence and good will of the American people? We think not, for we believe its public services have been as faithfully performed since 1872, as they were before. If it has made mistakes, it has been quick to correct them—and in this it has shown a desire to conform to the wishes of a nation that has entrusted it with power for the past fourteen years. This prompt reflection of the popular will has been a leading trait in the character of Republicanism. All its public measures have been based upon public wants, and to discover these wants, and to administer to them, have been the chief aim and object of the party.

As we are on the eve of a political campaign whose issues are to have a direct bearing on the Presidential campaign of 1876, it is well to briefly review the past history of the Republican party, and to again ask the question, "has it been faithful to its trust?"

The trust confided to its care in 1861, was the nation itself. Never was a more sacred trust given to a party to keep, and never has one been guarded with equal fidelity, or with more religious care.

To this fidelity and this care the people of the United States are indebted for the Government they now enjoy. It must ever remain as a recognized fact worthy of historic preservation, that the Republican party took up the theory of self-government and made it a grand success, at the very moment when Democracy proclaimed it a failure.

Democracy had abandoned all hopes of saving the Union, had announced its willingness to see its bonds severed, had proclaimed its determination to make no efforts to stay the tide that was sweeping the nation to certain destruction, when the loyal people called the Republican party into power and gave into its hands a trust which Democracy was about to betray.

A nation without credit at home and abroad, its treasury nearly bankrupt, its currency insecure, its navy scattered, its army small and demoralized, its authority repudiated and defied in eleven States, its Southern forts and arsenals in the hands of insurgents, a powerful political party which had been instrumental in bringing about this disastrous state of affairs—holding sufficient influence to prevent unity of action, was a fair picture of the condition of the trust when Republicans came into power.

It was a moment of extreme peril to the nation—the darkest period in its history. True, the enthusiasm of the loyal millions

as they rallied to the support of the Union, lightened up this period of gloom, but the actual danger which beset the Union was greater than any before encountered. The South was in open rebellion and the North was divided in sentiment. The Democratic party maintained its organization, and used it to encourage the South and to discourage the efforts of the North. Yet in the face of almost insurmountable obstacles, the Republican party followed the dictates of loyalty and justice, and turned neither to the right nor the left until the rebellion was crushed, and the Union saved. Therefore, to the Republican party, to its wisdom and fidelity, its patriotism and courage, the people owe the existence of the Union. If it had no other claim on the gratitude of the nation than this one of preserving its nationality, it should outweigh all the claims of Democracy, and entitle it to the confidence and support of every loyal American citizen.

But it has other claims. It has not only organized the means for saving the nation, in the face of the greatest rebellion of modern times, but it has, by the operation of wise laws and a liberal policy, developed a growth of material prosperity rarely equalled in the history of nations.

To fully comprehend the advancement made during a single decade of Republican ascendancy, let us briefly compare the condition of the country in 1860, with its condition in 1870, as shown by the 9th census:

#### INCREASE IN POPULATION.

In 1860 the population of the United States was, according to the census, 31,183,744. Including Territories, 31,443,321. According to the census of 1870, the population was 38,115,641. Including Territories, 38,558,371. The following table shows the popula-

tion of each division, and the gain in ten years:

STATES.	POPULATION.		GAIN.
	1860.	1870.	
Eastern ...	3,135,583	3,487,924	352,341
Middle.....	3,258,350	10,158,729	1,900,479
Western...	9,091,879	12,936,930	3,845,051
Southern...	10,259,016	10,808,379	549,363
Pacific.....	439,316	693,661	254,345
Territories	259,577	442,730	183,153
Total.....	31,443,321	38,558,371	7,115,050

The percentage of increase, from 1860 to 1870, was somewhat smaller than that shown between 1850 and 1860. This can be readily accounted for by causes directly traceable to the war. The Surgeon General United States Army fixes the losses of the Union armies, by death, at 304,000 — by discharge, 285,000. The Confederate losses are estimated at 300,000. Add to this the large number, on both sides, who died after the close of the war, from causes chargeable to the service, and we have not less than 1,000,000 of the decrease accounted for. The loss of so large a number of able-bodied men would necessarily affect the ratio of births during the decade. Therefore, the difference between the estimated population for 1870 — 41,609,000 — and the actual count — 38,558,371 — may be properly attributed to the rebellion, and causes directly chargeable to it. Yet, despite these unfavorable causes, which retarded the natural growth of the nation, the close of the first decade of Republican administration finds the nation with a substantial increase of over seven millions. The increase up to the present time, may safely be assumed to reach not less than 11,500,000, making the present population about 42,000,000.

#### INCREASE IN PRODUCTS OF MANUFACTURES.

The substantial growth in the products of manufactures from 1860 to 1870, illustrate the industrial prosperity of the nation. It is safe to assume that the increase of products of manufactures to June 30, 1874, would be upward of \$3,000,000,000. The following table shows the increase from 1860 to 1870:

STATES.	PRODUCTS OF MANUFACTURES.		INCREASE.
	1860	1870.	
Eastern States.....	\$168,599,287	\$1,009,116,772	\$840,517,485
Middle States.....	793,926,290	1,783,813,923	989,887,633
Western States.....	346,675,290	1,072,933,858	726,258,568
Southern States.....	193,462,521	253,618,436	60,155,915
Pacific States.....	71,229,989	89,342,482	18,112,493
Total .....	\$1,876,893,377	\$4,208,824,971	\$2,331,931,594

## GROWTH IN TRUE WEALTH.

The increase of the true wealth of the nation for the same time, will better illustrate the character of the Government which, in a large measure, has been instrumental in bringing it about. This increase shows the wonderful growth of the nation under a single decade of Republican rule, and dis-

poses of the charge so often made by Democracy, that Republicanism has impoverished the country. No better evidence can be found of the fallacy of this assumption than that contained in the impartial returns of the ninth census. From this we tabulate the following :

STATES.	TRUE WEALTH.		- INCREASE.
	1860.	1870.	
Eastern.....	\$1,863,848,765	\$4,039,875,247	\$2,176,026,482
Middle.....	4,150,920,784	12,181,738,740	8,030,817,956
Western.....	3,966,735,753	9,536,453,603	5,569,717,850
Southern.....	5,868,292,219	3,343,007,789	2,525,201,630*
Pacific.....	231,801,250	721,459,961	484,654,711
Territories.....	73,093,297	245,983,367	172,887,070
Total.....	\$16,159,616,068	\$30,068,518,507	\$13,908,902,439

\* Decrease. Value of slaves included in 1860.

It will be seen from the above, that the true wealth of every section, with the exception of the Southern, has increased in a marvelous degree—the total increase being nearly \$14,000,000,000. The loss of slave property, the value of which was included in the census of 1860, partially accounts for the apparent decrease of the true wealth of the Southern States. To this should be

added the general depreciation of real estate, which has taken place in every Southern State with the exception of Kentucky and Tennessee.

## ASSESSED VALUATION OF REAL ESTATE.

The following table shows the decrease in the assessed valuation of real estate in the Southern States, from 1860 to 1870 :

SOUTHERN STATES.	ASSESSED VALUATION OF REAL ESTATE.		DECREASE IN REAL ESTATE.
	1860.	1870	
*Virginia.....	\$417,952,228	\$279,116,017	\$138,836,211
North Carolina.....	116,366,573	83,322,012	33,044,561
South Carolina.....	129,772,684	119,494,675	10,278,009
Georgia.....	179,801,441	143,918,216	35,883,225
Florida.....	21,722,810	20,197,691	1,525,119
Alabama.....	155,034,089	117,223,43	37,810,646
Mississippi.....	157,836,737	118,778,460	39,558,277
Louisiana.....	280,704,988	191,343,376	89,361,612
Kentucky.....	277,925,054	311,479,694	33,554,640†
Tennessee.....	219,991,180	224,035,375	3,044,195†
Arkansas.....	63,254,740	63,102,304	152,436
Texas.....	112,476,013	97,186,568	15,289,445
Total.....	\$2,132,838,537	\$1,767,727,431	\$365,111,106

\* West Virginia not included in 1870. † Increase.

The great falling off in the assessed valuation of real estate in the Southern States as indicated in the table given, is due, not so much to the destruction which attended the war, as it is to the bitter political prejudices held since its close by the property-owners of the South against Northern capitalists, especially those who favor the Republican party. These prejudices have been so marked, that Northern men, with money to invest, have sought other and safer channels for their investments. Had the South laid aside its political hatred to the Republican party; and extended a cordial welcome to Northern men; skill, industry and wealth would have poured into its States, and ere this, restored to it the prosperity which it lost by the rebellion. Numerically, Republicanism has been stronger in certain Southern States than Democracy, but the latter has

controlled the property and moneyed interest, and thus checked the growth which would otherwise have followed the ascendancy of Republicanism. No political party, however pure, can of itself restore prosperity to a people who combine the money power against it. A cordial relation must exist between the party in power and the business elements with which it has to deal, before true prosperity can be attained, and if the South had long since recognized this truth, to-day her real estate would have shown as large an increase in value as that of other sections.

In order to show the increase in the assessed valuation of real estate in those States where the Republican party has had the active sympathy of business men and property owners, we present the following table, collated from the last census :

	Assessed Valuation of Real Estate.		
	1860.	1870.	INCREASE.
EASTERN STATES.			
Maine .....	\$ 86,717,716	\$ 134,580,157	\$47,862,441
New Hampshire .....	59,638,346	85,231,288	25,592,942
Vermont .....	65,639,973	80,993,100	15,353,127
Massachusetts .....	475,413,165	901,037,841	425,624,676
Rhode Island .....	83,778,214	132,876,581	49,098,377
Connecticut .....	191,478,842	204,110,509	12,631,667
Total .....	\$962,666,246	\$1,538,829,476	\$576,163,230
MIDDLE STATES.			
New York .....	\$1,069,658,080	\$1,532,720,907	\$463,062,827
New Jersey .....	151,161,942	448,832,127	297,670,185
Pennsylvania .....	561,192,980	1,071,680,934	510,487,954
Delaware .....	26,273,803	48,744,783	22,470,980
Maryland .....	65,341,438	286,910,332	221,568,894
Total .....	\$1,873,628,243	\$3,388,889,083	\$1,515,260,840
WESTERN STATES.			
Ohio .....	\$687,518,121	\$707,846,836	\$20,328,715
Michigan .....	123,605,084	224,663,667	101,058,583
Indiana .....	291,829,992	460,120,974	168,290,982
Illinois .....	287,219,940	348,433,906	61,213,966
Wisconsin .....	148,238,766	252,322,107	104,083,341
Minnesota .....	25,291,771	62,079,587	36,787,816
Iowa .....	149,433,423	226,610,638	77,177,215
Missouri .....	153,450,577	418,527,535	265,076,958
Kansas .....	16,088,602	65,499,365	49,410,763
Nebraska .....	5,732,145	38,365,999	32,633,854
Total .....	\$1,888,408,421	\$2,804,470,614	\$916,062,193



	Assessed Valuation of Real Estate.		INCREASE.
	1860.	1870.	
PACIFIC STATES.			
California.....	\$66,906,631	\$176,527,160	\$109,620,529
Oregon.....	6,279,602	17,674,202	11,394,600
*Nevada.....			
Total.....	\$73,186,233	\$194,201,362	\$121,015,129
Grand total.....	\$4,797,889,143	\$7,926,390,535	\$3,128,501,392

\* Assessed valuation of real estate in 1870, \$14,594,722.

The above table indicates an aggregate increase in the assessed valuation of real estate in the Eastern, Middle, Western and Pacific States, during the first decade of Republican rule, of \$3,128,501,392, while the Southern States, during the same period, show a decrease in the assessed valuation of real estate, amounting to \$365,111,106.

The question may be asked, why has not the Republican party advanced the material interests of those States in the South where it has had control? The answer is, because it has met the organized opposition of the intelligent, wealthy and business elements of those States. Its control has been the control of a majority, cut off by deep-rooted prejudice from the sympathy and support of an influential minority. Thus, insurmountable obstacles have been placed in its way. Its efforts to build up have been met by counter efforts to tear down, and this conflict carried on through a series of years, has borne its natural results, the paralyzation of industry and the stoppage of growth. At the North, active party opposition against a State administration ceases when the ballot announces the people's choice. At the South the opposition of Democracy is intensified by the elevation of Republican officials. The choice of the people is disregarded, the minority refuse to cheerfully submit to the decree of the ballot box, and thus the administration of government lacks that co-operation of effort on the part of all classes essential to a complete development of State interests. If one-half the talent and energy shown by Southern Democracy in obstructing the administration of Republican governments had been used to assist officials in

exercising their legitimate functions, the close of the last decade would have revealed an increase instead of decrease in Southern wealth.

The South has many natural advantages, which, if properly used, would make it an attractive field for enterprise and wealth. Its climate, mineral resources, water-power, agricultural privileges, fine harbors and magnificent rivers, ought to have largely increased its population and trebled its wealth in ten years. Why has it failed to advance? Why has it fallen behind? The reason may be found in the narrow political prejudices which have created a policy of exclusiveness that has shut her gates against the enterprising men of the world. In still clinging to a political party that once led them to the brink of ruin, the property owners of the South are committing an act of suicidal folly. By ignoring the party of freedom and progress, which has advanced by its wisdom and energy other sections of the country, the South is putting off the day of prosperity. If she would keep pace with the North, she must imitate the political freedom which the latter enjoys, and break down, of her own accord, those barriers which pride and prejudice have raised against the principles of Republicanism. By the adoption of these principles the South will close the present decade with a degree of prosperity beyond her hopes. The surplus wealth of the North will pour in upon her; hardy immigrants will possess her now idle lands; mills and factories will line her water-courses; shipping will crowd her seaports; and she will become what nature seems to have intended her to be—the very garden spot of America.

To bury her prejudices, turn her back on Democracy, and welcome Republicanism, would be to her the beginning of a glorious era.

#### FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The financial operations of the Government since 1861, illustrate in a marked degree the wonderful resources of the nation, and the integrity of the party that has been responsible for the administration of public affairs. The armed rebellion of eleven States which confronted the Republican party when it assumed control, necessitated extraordinary expenses on the part of the Government, and to meet these expenses, the collection of extraordinary revenues. There was no alternative but heavy expenditures and great sacrifices, or universal bankruptcy and national extinction. True, the full force of the terrible strain to be borne was unknown in 1861, but the party in power never weighed the value of the Union in the scale of dollars and cents. Its preservation was cheap at any price of treasure or blood. It was priceless, not only to the generation which undertook its salvation, but to the countless generations which were to follow. Its defence and preservation were sacred duties, which no loyal citizen could overlook. Freedom, humanity, intelligence, all depended upon the issue; and with its successful termination, each of these elements of human civilization became more deeply rooted in American soil.

We have already shown the material prosperity which the Union has developed. This far outweighs the money expenditures made necessary by four years of war. The compensation for the bloodshed cannot be found in dollars and cents. The elevation of the human race, the extinction of human bondage, the erection of free States throughout the world, and the future preservation of hundreds of thousands of lives which would be sacrificed in the defence of separate nationalities—are among the legitimate fruits which will spring up from the graves of the Union defenders.

The value of the work being conceded, let us look at the means made necessary to ac-

complish it; the revenues and expenditure of the nation during its struggle for existence.

A careful estimate, made in 1872, of the expenses incurred for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1871, showed that the expenditures growing out of the war—such as pensions, interest, premiums, claims, collection of the internal revenue, additional cost of army and navy, payments for illegal captures, suppression of disturbances in the Southern States—amounted to \$214,642,081.03. This amount, deducted from the total expenditures of the Nation, \$292,177,188.25, left \$77,535,107.22 as the ordinary expenses of the Government for 1871 on a peace basis. Reduced to a gold basis—the average price of gold during 1871 being 112.3—it was \$69,042,838.13. The expenditures of the Nation for the year ended June 30, 1860, were \$61,402,408.64. The population of the United States January 1, 1860, was 31,030,750. The population January 1, 1871, was 38,911,616. This would make the expenditures *per capita* in 1860, \$1.98, and in 1871, \$1.77. If we accept the result of this calculation as a fair average of the ordinary expenses of administration, or those which exclude the extraordinary expenditures growing out of, and justly chargeable to the rebellion, we shall have for the fourteen years prior to June 30, 1874, \$966,599,733.82 ordinary expenses, instead of \$6,465,897,922.84, the actual amount required for those extraordinary expenditures growing out of the war. The difference between the two items, represents the financial sacrifice made by the nation to defend the Union, and to resist the fatal doctrine of State Rights as preached by Calhoun, fought for by the Southern Confederacy, and practically maintained by the Democratic party of to-day.

The following table shows the net revenue of the Government from 1789 to 1860, and from 1862 to 1874; also, the net expenditures of the Government during the same periods:

NET REVENUE OF THE GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING PREMIUMS AND INTEREST RECEIVED.	
From March 4, 1789, to	
June 30, 1860 .....	\$1,806,354,650.53
From June 30, 1860, to	
June 30, 1874.....	4,437,187,765.12
Total.....	\$6,243,542,415.65

## NET EXPENDITURES, INCLUDING PAYMENTS FOR PREMIUMS AND INTEREST.

From March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1860.....	\$1,731,734,673.72
From June 30, 1860, to June 30, 1874.....	6,465,897,922.84
Total.....	<u>\$8,197,632,596.56</u>

## ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE.

From March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1860.

War .....	\$552,534,462.79
Navy .....	347,733,038.83
Indians .....	84,091,969.79
Pensions .....	79,713,465.20
Miscellaneous*.....	465,237,077.08
Premiums .....	5,834,626.94
Interest.....	196,590,068.09

Net expenditures..... 1,731,734,673.72

From June 30, 1860, to June 30, 1874.

War .....	\$3,534,163,574.37
Navy.....	563,626,987.74
Indians.....	67,657,496.77
Pensions .....	262,814,830.28
Miscellaneous.....	672,854,238.57
Premiums .....	59,738,167.73
Interest.....	1,305,042,627.38

Net expenditures... 6,465,897,922.84

Net expenditures, from  
March 4, 1789, to June  
30, 1874..... \$8,197,632,596.56

The tables submitted show, at a glance, the extraordinary expenditures directly due to the rebellion. The work required of the army and the magnitude of military operations, can only be realized by a comparison of the expenditures. The army expenditures for the years 1862, '63, '64, and 1865, amounted to \$2,713,569,422.83, or nearly five times as much as the entire army expenses of the Government from 1789 to 1860, a period of seventy-one years. The army expenditures of a single year, 1865—the close of the war—were \$1,030,690,400.06, or within a fraction of \$3,000,000 for every day in the year.

The nation has been required to pay for the item of interest alone during the past fourteen years, \$1,305,042,627.38, as against 196,590,068.09, the amount paid from 1789,

\*Includes Civil Service, Foreign Relations, Lighthouse and Public Buildings expenditures, and the cost of collecting the internal revenues.

to 1860, or more than six and a half times as much as the entire amount of interest paid by the Government for seventy-one years. The pension payments, also directly chargeable to the rebellion, show that \$262,814,830.28 have been paid out, or more than three times the entire pension payments of the Government for the seventy-one years prior to 1860.

If a party is to be judged by the weight of its responsibilities, then the Republican party in its administration of public affairs cannot fail to invoke the favorable judgment of impartial minds. It has borne a strain which laid upon weaker shoulders, might well have destroyed a Government. The magnitude of its labors can only be measured by their priceless results, and these will grow in value as generation follows generation.

If the expenditures shown are without parallel in our history, so the means employed, the honesty and energy displayed, the statesmanship which created the systems necessary to carry the Government through the most active period of its existence, must be regarded as without parallel in the history of nations.

The wisdom and sagacity which developed the internal revenue system, and our present currency system, should entitle the Republican party to the gratitude of the country. The first made possible the immense revenues necessary to prosecute the war to a successful issue. The latter made the payment of the taxes uniform throughout the country, provided a safe currency of equal value in all the States, protected industry, by removing its earnings from the possibility of loss through State bank failures, and commanded the active support of the moneyed interests of the States by making the security of those interests dependent upon the integrity and credit of the nation.

The present system of internal revenue was created to meet the wants growing out of an emergency. Through its operation those wants were supplied promptly, regularly, and without shock or injury to the business of the country. So efficiently was the system organized, so equalized were the

taxes, levied under it, so cheerfully were they responded to by a loyal people, that the future historian, when he looks for the evidence of those burdens which oppress a people during the prosecution of a great war, will fail to discover that the payment of these countless millions was regarded as oppressive, or checked for a moment the growth of a nation's prosperity.

To show the amount collected under the internal revenue system, and by direct tax, since 1861 to 1874, we submit the following :

Year.	Internal Revenue.	Direct tax.
1862.....	.....	\$1,795,331.73
1863.....	\$37,640,787.95	1,485,103.61
1864.....	109,741,134.10	475,648.96
1865.....	209,464,215.25	1,205,733.00
1866.....	309,226,813.42	1,974,754.12
1867.....	266,027,537.43	4,200,233.70
1868.....	191,087,581.41	1,788,145.85
1869.....	158,356,460.86	765,685.61
1870.....	184,899,756.49	229,102.88
1871.....	143,098,153.63	580,355.37
1872.....	130,642,177.72	.....
1873.....	113,729,314.14	*315,254.51
1874.....	102,409,784.90	.....
Total.....	1,956,323,725.30	14,810,189.37

The other principle source of revenue to meet the expenditures of the Government, was the customs revenue. From this source the following amounts were collected from 1861 to 1874, inclusive :

Year.	Customs Revenue.
1861.....	\$39,582,125.64
1862.....	49,051,397.62
1863.....	69,059,642.40
1864.....	102,316,151.99
1865.....	84,228,260.60
1866.....	179,046,651.58
1867.....	176,417,810.88
1868.....	161,464,519.56
1869.....	180,048,426.63
1870.....	194,538,374.44
1871.....	206,270,408.05
1872.....	216,370,286.77
1873.....	188,089,522.70
1874.....	163,103,833.69
Total.....	\$2,013,292,493.55

\* Balance due in 1871, collected in 1872 and 1873, and covered into the U. S. Treasury in the latter year.

During the war period, from June 30, 1861, to June 30, 1865, the net expenditures of the Government far exceeded the net ordinary revenue. The following table will show the ordinary receipts and expenditures for the five years named :

Year.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1861.....	\$11,476,299.49	\$62,616,055.78
1862.....	51,919,261.09	456,379,896.81
1863.....	112,094,945.51	694,004,575.56
1864.....	241,412,971.20	811,283,679.14
1865.....	3,203,158.19	1,217,704,199.28
Total.....	\$770,934,635.48	\$3,241,988,406.57

To the above receipts should be added \$33,561,924.24 received as premiums, and to the expenditures should be added \$176,034,714.75 paid for interest, and \$1,717,900.11 paid as premiums, making the total net receipts for the five years named \$84,496,559.72, and the total net expenditures for the same time, \$3,419,741,021.43, or more than four times the amount of the receipts. It will thus be seen that the expenditures exceeded the receipts during the five years of war, \$2,615,244,461.71.

To meet this excess, the nation was forced to look outside of its ordinary revenues, and the amount needed was provided by its loans and Treasury notes. These loans make up the bulk of our present National debt. The following shows the yearly payment for interest from 1861 to 1874 :

Year.	INTEREST.
1861.....	\$4,034,157.30
1862.....	13,190,344.84
1863.....	24,729,700.62
1864.....	53,685,421.69
1865.....	77,395,090.30
1866.....	133,067,624.91
1867.....	143,781,591.91
1868.....	140,424,045.71
1869.....	130,694,242.80
1870.....	129,235,498.00
1871.....	125,576,565.93
1872.....	117,357,839.72
1873.....	104,750,688.44
1874.....	107,119,815.21
Total.....	\$1,305,042,627.38

RECEIPTS FROM ALL SOURCES FROM JUNE 30,  
1861, TO JUNE 30, 1874, INCLUSIVE.

Customs .....	\$2,013,292,493.55
Internal Revenue.....	1,956,323,725.30
Direct Tax.....	14,810,189.37
Public Lands.....	23,022,636.56
Miscellaneous .....	237,108,498.27
Premiums .....	192,590,748.36
Total .....	\$4,437,148,291.39

OFFICIAL INTEGRITY, REDUCTION OF DEBT, &c.

Yet, with these immense receipts and expenditures, made necessary by the suppression of the Democratic slaveholders' rebellion, the records show a degree of official integrity without a parallel in the history of governments. Vice President Wilson, in 1872, in referring to this subject, said :

"During the war we paid, through the Paymaster's Department of the Army, more than a thousand million dollars. That money was paid sometimes when troops were on their march, sometimes when they were under fire, and we lost less than a quarter of a million dollars. Never, in the history of the human family, was there any higher evidence of integrity. In the war of 1812, in paying out the little money we paid during that war, we lost about two million dollars. Since Gen. Spinner entered upon his office of Treasurer of the United States, \$55,000,000, 000 have passed through his office, counted by from three to four hundred men and women. We have lost between fifty and sixty thousand dollars in these eleven years, while \$55,000,000, 000 have gone through the office.

"There has been collected under General Grant's administration, in three years, nearly twelve hundred million dollars — nearly four hundred millions a year; there has been paid out nearly a thousand million dollars — making about twenty-one hundred million dollars. We have lost out of this immense sum, in all the departments of the Government, a million and a quarter — less than a fifteenth part of one per centum!

"We have paid out, during these three years, ninety million dollars, in pensions, and we have had five defalcations, all of them soldiers, and four of them shed their blood for their country. But the Government has not lost a dollar, for the agents made good their accounts, or their bondsmen did it for them."

These remarks are as applicable to-day as when they were uttered. The same honesty and economy which characterized the Presi-

dent's first term have distinguished, in even a greater degree, the first half of his second term.

A very careful calculation of losses sustained was embodied in an official letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, in 1872. As equal honesty has been practiced in all the departments since the date of this letter, it may be safely taken as a basis for present calculations. According to this letter, the per cent. of losses to the Government in the collection of internal revenue since March 3, 1869, was less than one-fiftieth of one per cent. of the amount collected, or less than two dollars in ten thousand.

In the collection of the customs for the same time the loss was \$28,000, out of \$553,000,000, or the one-hundredth part of one per cent., or less than five dollars in every one hundred thousand.

The loss to depositors, through our National banking system, was the one-hundredth and eighty-sixth part of one per cent. — equivalent to five dollars and three-eighths in every one hundred thousand.

The money entries on the books of the United States Treasurer, covering time from June 30, 1861, to January 9, 1872, showed the immense sum of \$55,000,000,000, and out of this vast amount the loss was about \$55,000, or less than one ten-thousandth part of one per cent., or one dollar in one million of money transactions.

With this exhibit of the financial responsibility of the Republican party, and the official integrity which has characterized its public servants, are we not justified in saying that no just comparison can be instituted between the party now in power and those which have preceded it? To determine its merits, and do full justice to its great services to the Republic, we have but to weigh its acts and its responsibilities with the combined acts of all the administrations, from Washington down. Even then, we can obtain but an imperfect understanding of the magnitude of its labors, and of the power of its influence on the civilization of the world.

The excess of expenditures over receipts, or that which far exceeded the ordinary

revenues, and which were met by pledges of public faith, ceased with the close of the war. The public debt had reached its highest point in 1866, being at that time, June 30, \$2,773,236,173.69. Since then the revenues of the nation have exceeded the expenditures, leaving a balance each year for the redemption of the public debt. From June 30, 1866, to June 30, 1874, the public debt has been reduced \$580,305,705.25. This reduction has taken place in the face of reduced taxation. Under the acts of Congress dated July 13, 1866, March 2, 1867, Feb. 3, 1868, March 1 and July 20, 1868, July 14, 1870, May 1 and June 6, 1872—the Internal Revenue taxation has been reduced from its highest point, in 1866, \$309,226,813.42, to \$102,409,784.90, June 30, 1874. In this reduction of the public debt, and this descending scale of taxation, we have at a single glance the policy of the administration to maintain the public credit, and at the same time lighten the burdens of the people.

We have endeavored to show, by the statements submitted, the magnitude of the financial operations of the Government during fourteen years of Republican rule. They may safely be held up, as being without a parallel in our history, if not in the history of nations. To carry on these operations through a long series of years, without infringing upon the constitutional rights of a single citizen, or without oppressing the industrial interests of the country, has required the highest degree of administrative and legislative talent, and the highest order of executive integrity. It should be borne in mind that these heavy financial responsibilities were forced upon the country by treasonable Democracy, and that the part performed by the Republican party was simply the execution of an imperative duty which it owed to the Union, to freedom, to humanity and to the world's civilization.

If we would realize the cost of this treasonable Democracy, we must go over the expenditures of each year, and sum up those which are directly chargeable to the Democratic slaveholders' rebellion. They would not only wipe out our present national debt, but restore an equal amount to those who

were forced to bear the financial burdens of the conflict.

With these figures before us, with a clear remembrance of those terrible years of sacrifice and suffering, when the hopes of the nation centered in the courage and patriotism of the Republican party, with at least \$50,000,000 of yearly expenditures to remind us of a party that betrayed the nation, and with a burdensome public debt, which a loyal people are nobly bearing—who that loves his country, or wishes to see it continue in the path of peace and prosperity, can give his vote or influence to the support of a party that stands to-day as responsible for the rebellion, as it did when its recognized head, James Buchanan, folded his arms and gave it the sanction of his official encouragement, by the admission that he had no power to coerce.

#### OUR NATIONAL CURRENCY SYSTEM.

We have shown the immense financial operations of the Government during the fourteen years ending June 30, 1874. To those measures which led to the adoption of our present national currency the success of these operations is largely due. Under the old State banking system, financial embarrassments would have attended the collection of the taxes, irredeemable paper money would have become nearly worthless, gold needed for custom duties, and for the payment of interest on our bonds would have become exorbitantly high, the credit of States and individuals would have been destroyed, and before the close of the war, even if such a close had been possible, universal bankruptcy would have stared us in the face.

Therefore to the adoption of our present national currency, the nation is largely indebted for the success of its financial operations. It gave to the country a currency of uniform value; it pledged the faith of the nation for the security of the circulating medium; it removed the possibility of loss on the part of the bill holder, by making the Government the redemption agent; it united the moneyed interests of the country with the effort of the government to maintain its existence, by making the currency, and through this prosperity, wholly dependent upon the credit and integrity of the nation.



This national currency system operated as a strong bond of union, holding the States to the Government, upon which they depended for financial prosperity. It placed the states in the attitude of creditors, largely interested in maintaining the solvency of the Government.

To this system of currency, due to the wisdom of Republican legislation, the people are indebted for that harmony which existed between the States and the Government, and for that marvelous prosperity, which developed itself in the midst of a devastating war, and which has practically continued unchecked up to the present time.

Under the old State banking system, every financial disturbance entailed heavy losses on holders of bills, while panics like those of 1837 and 1857 wrecked hundreds of banks and entailed hardships upon thousands of individuals holding their notes. Under the present national system, these losses, which generally fell upon the workingmen, are impossible. A bank may be badly managed; it may fail; yet, its notes, being secured by a deposit of United States bonds, are as valuable as the notes of the best managed bank in the country. They continue to circulate, or if the holder desires it, they may be redeemed by the United States. Thus the cir-

culating notes, under the present system, may be considered absolutely safe. Not a dollar has been lost by the holder on the bill of a broken national bank since the organization of the system. All that is now needed to make the national currency system as perfect as any ever devised by human wisdom, is, the redemption of its notes in coin or its equivalent. If hostile legislation does not interfere to change or cripple the present plans of Republican administration, the resumption of specie payments will be soon brought about without shock or detriment to business interests.

The Republican party is pledged to the eventual redemption of every Government obligation, in gold. It has never failed to make good its pledges, and this one will be kept with sacred fidelity, if the people continue through the future the same noble confidence which has upheld the party in the past.

As a comparison of the old system and the present one may be of value, we present the following statement, exhibiting by sections the bank circulation, the amount *per capita*, and the ratio of circulation to wealth and to capital, in 1862 (State bank system), and in 1874 :

	BANK CIRCULATION.*		Circulation per Capita		Ratio of Circulation to Wealth.		Ratio of Circulation to Bank Capital.	
	1862.	1874.	1862.	1874.	Per Ct. 1862.	Per Ct. 1874.	Per Ct. 1862.	Per Ct. 1874.
Eastern States.....	\$65,516,155	\$109,705,018	\$20.90	\$31.45	3.5	2.7	51.7	67.4
Middle States .....	82,372,91	123,052,872	9.97	12.66	2.0	1.0	53.1	64.2
Southern States .....	71,098,408	36,895,704	6.17	2.81	1.1	0.7	66.3	79.5
Western States.....	19,684,564	77,174,850	2.49	6.86	0.6	0.9	125.4	80.8
Pacific States and Territories.....	.....	1,962,708	.....	2.00	.....	0.1	.....	79.3
Total of States and Territories.....	\$238,671,210	\$348,791,152	\$7.59	\$9.04	1.5	1.1	58.9	69.9

\* National bank notes, June 30, 1873, \$351,869,008; old demand and legal tender notes, \$375,841,697.50; fractional currency, \$42,129,424.19; total paper currency, \$769,840,119.19. Total circulation per capita, \$15.53.

A comparative table, exhibiting the above by States, may be found in the report of the Comptroller of the Currency, for 1874. In speaking of the relative value of the legal

tender note, and the national bank note, the Comptroller says, in his report :

"The amount of legal tender notes authorized is \$382,000,000; the amount of na-



tional bank notes, \$354,000,000. The amounts of legal tender notes, under the act of June 20, 1874, cannot be reduced, but must remain continually in circulation; the amount of national bank notes, however, may be reduced at the pleasure of the banks. If the value of the paper dollar be determined by the amount of such money in circulation, then the national bank note is more valuable than the legal tender note. The national bank notes outstanding are secured by a deposit of more than \$385,000,000 of United States bonds, which are at a premium of more than 12 per cent.

"If the United States bonds be not of sufficient value to pay the notes, the capital and surplus of the banks, amounting to \$622,000,000, as well as their entire assets, are available for that purpose. The stockholders are individually liable for the full amount of their stock, in addition to the amount invested in such shares. And the United States guarantees the final payment of the notes. There are, then, absolute assets for more than three times the amount of the national bank notes outstanding, available for the redemption of these notes, and in addition, the contingent liability of the shareholders, and the guarantee of their final payment by the United States."

It will thus be seen that our currency is safe not only in times of business prosperity, but in the midst of financial panics. Founded upon the credit of the Government, nothing but the loss of public credit could affect materially the value of our currency. To maintain this credit, to strengthen it at home and abroad, has been the object of the Republican party. Under its wise management our national credit has steadily improved. Our securities are sought for as among the best and safest in the world, and if the party whose administration has brought about so favorable a result is continued in power, we may confidently look forward to the refunding of our national debt at a low rate of interest, thus in this single item saving annually millions of dollars to the Government. We appeal to true citizens everywhere, to all who desire to maintain the credit of the nation, to all who appreciate a good currency, that is gradually approaching a gold basis, to all who are in any way interested in maintaining public faith, to lay aside petty prejudices and local issues, and earnestly support the party that has rendered noble service to the Republic. Its overthrow means

the loss of public credit, the paralyzation of business enterprise, the depreciation of national securities, and eventually a repudiation of national obligations.

#### A SUMMARY OF ACHIEVEMENTS.

To do justice to a review of Republican achievements would fill a volume. A brief summary will be a fitting conclusion to the statements already made.

During the period of Republican ascendancy, we have seen the nation increase in population from 1860 to 1870, 7,115,050, with an estimated increase, up to the present time, of 11,500,000. We have seen an increase of the products of manufactures during the same time of \$2,231,931,594, with a probable increase, up to this time, of over \$3,000,000,000. We have seen an increase in the true wealth of the Northern States, up to 1870, \$13,908,902,431, which to-day may be estimated at \$20,000,000,000. We have seen the assessed valuation of real estate increase in ten years \$3,128,501,392, which, at the present time, would make it over \$4,000,000,000. We have seen the Government successfully conducting financial operations of great magnitude, and improving its credit, while meeting obligations which bore heavily upon its resources. We have seen a defective State currency system, supplanted by one of a national character, safe, sound and effective, and destined to become, at no distant day, the most perfect currency system ever devised by man. Yet these items of growth and improvements, are but a few of the many that could be presented if time permitted.

The homestead acts; the building of the Pacific railroad; the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, and the legislation necessary to enforce their provisions; the reconstruction of the Southern States; the settlement of the Alabama Claims, and the vexed San Juan boundary; establishment of life-saving stations; protection to immigrants; encouragement of labor; advancement of science and education; and above all, the crowning work of the century—the abolition of human slavery—are items in the long list of Republican triumphs, which will insure the gratitude of posterity, and ever command the admiration of the world.

This is the party now in jeopardy—the party whose existence is so interwoven with the life of the nation, that to destroy the one is to permanently injure the other.

Is a party record, so glorious and praiseworthy, to be destroyed by the breath of slander, or blotted out from the hearts of a grateful people, by the efforts of partizan malice? Is a party that has given such transcendent evidence of its ability to govern wisely, and justly, and honestly, the affairs of a great nation, to be laid aside, just as the fruits of its noble labors are ripening

to the touch? No! We speak for the American people, who are not ungrateful, who still bear in remembrance the services of the past, who are yet unwilling to trust a country saved by loyal blood and treasure in the hands of those who encouraged its destruction—when we say that despite the efforts of Democracy, and the schemes of bad men, the Republican party will still be supported by the loyal element of the country as the only party that has been faithful to its trust, and that is able to protect the nation's honor, while advancing the nation's prosperity.

## THE FRENCH REPUBLIC—ITS NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE GUARANTEES.

M. Laboulaye, Chairman of the Committee of Thirty in the Versailles Assembly, who were charged with the consideration of all measures relating to organic laws, declared that the French Republicans of all shades, accepted the compromise measures finally adopted, "through the love of country, in order to obey that requirement of peace and union, which is the desire of a people exhausted by war and tried by revolutions." The speaker, a leader of the left centre or moderates of his party, did not make too large a claim on the respect and admiration of mankind for those who acted with him, in the foregoing declaration. History holds within its ample folds, few events more worthy of praise, than those which have in the main marked the advent of the present Parliamentary Republic of France. That praise is due to the various divisions of the Republican party, which, under the leadership on the one side, of Thiers, Grévy, and other converted Constitutional Monarchists, and of Leon, Gambetta, Laboulaye, Jules Simon, Emanuel Arago and others who have always been Republican in politics, have kept steadily in view the establishment of that form of Government, which, as M. Thiers so tersely put it—"divides France the least."

The constitutional bills under which the Republic in name has been definitely established were adopted in a full Assembly by a majority of 174, on the 25th of February, 1875.

The struggle between Imperialism, Monarchy, and the Republic had continued for over four years, from the date of the establishment of peace, and the removal of the National Assembly, so-called, from Bordeaux to Versailles. That assembly, elected to close the war between Germany and France, refused under the reaction created by the Commune rebellion, to give place to a Constituent Assembly, and succeeded in making itself the government of France, for the time being. At the beginning of this provisional period, the reactionaries had a clear majority of between two and three hundred. When, however, it came to be a question of who should reap the results, the majority divided, and the Legitimists, the Orleanists and Imperialists, could not be induced to agree on an executive or the form of government. The first and third of these factions determined to accept the Comte de Chambord as Henri V., but that logical acceptor of the "right divine of kings," refused to "conquer his prejudices" to constitutional guarantees or a national flag, the tricolor, under which his family had been driven out of France. These parties combined to defeat Thiers and substitute McMahon, but could go no further.

On the other hand time has been the most efficient ally of the Republicans. It has soothed away their own differences; healed the sore partizanship, which is the curse of all political leadership in France, and finally

brought nearly all divisions under the acknowledged leadership of Thiers and Gambetta. No man ever gave another more loyal service than the fiery and impetuous Republican orator has accorded the astute and veteran statesman, who, loving the country more than his own opinions, assumed the functions of Republican leadership with the same earnestness that he served King Louis Phillippe and opposed Napoleon III.

In the four years of struggle, many members who sat on the Right or Right Centre benches have died. In the vacancies created by death or other means, amounting to about one hundred and fifty, the Republicans have gained largely on the popular vote, carrying at least one hundred and twenty-five of the elections. They have also received accessions from other parties.

It became evident from all these facts that the Republic represented the will of a majority of the PEOPLE of France. As this became more apparent daily, the Republican policy shifted. The Left, while still denying the power of the Assembly to make a definite Constitution, accepted such proclamation of the Republic as is involved in the laws now adopted, and stand ready to go to the country when the Assembly is dissolved.

Under the organic laws adopted last February, working details of which are now being discussed, the Government of France presents the following features :

1. A distinct acceptance of the Republic as the future government of France.

2. A National Assembly to consist of two Chambers—Senate and Deputies, the latter of which is to be elected by universal suffrage, for three years, unless dissolved by the President, the Senate concurring. A Deputy must be a Frenchman, without civil disability, and not less than twenty-five years of age. If the Chamber of Deputies is dissolved, a new election must be ordered within three months thereafter.

3. The Senate is to consist of three hundred members, to be chosen in the following manner: Two hundred and twenty-five by the departments and colonies, and seventy-five by the Chamber of Deputies. The term of service for Senators is to be for nine years, after the first Senate has adjusted itself

thereto, which will be done by selecting one hundred to go out at the end of three years, the same number at the end of six years, and the remainder at the end of nine years. The qualifications for Senator are French citizenship, without any disability; age to be forty years and upwards.

The Senate is to be elected, (except those selected by the Deputies,) by an electoral college in each department and colony chosen in the following manner: the Deputies representing the department; the Consul-General and district (arrondissement) councils, (bodies of an administrative character chosen by the popular vote and not heretofore charged with any direct political functions;) and by delegates from each commune (or municipal township,) in the department—said delegates to be chosen from among the electors, by the Commune council. In this way the bodies charged with the election of Senators will become provincial assemblies, and skillfully handled, must hereafter exercise a great influence in national affairs.

The department of the Seine and Nord, (in which Paris and Havre are situated,) are to have five Senators each. Six others, one near Paris, and in which are Calais, Lyons, Marseilles, and other principal cities, will have four each. Twenty-seven others will have three each; the others two each, and the colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe, Reunion, and the French Indies (Cochin China, etc.,) are to have one each. There are in all 130 departments. Gambetta has declared that the introduction of the Commune delegates as an agency in the election of Senators, is practically the most Democratic measure yet adopted in France.

The electoral college, so-called, will vote the whole list of its nominees, no Senator to be declared elected without a clear majority of the votes cast. The Chamber of Deputies is to choose its seventy-five Senators by ballot. The Senate must be elected one month before the present assembly dissolves, and to assemble for organization on the day of that dissolution.

4. The two Chambers are to constitute the National Assembly.

This body elects the Chief Executive, or President; votes supplies, declares war or peace, and provides by law for the general operations of the government.

5th. The executive power is vested in a President, to be elected for seven years, and to be twice eligible for re-election. The President is to be commander-in-chief of the military and naval forces; has the right of pardon, but not of veto. Ministers are responsible to the executive, who, however, is liable to impeachment. He makes all appointments, civil and military. Treaties to be negotiated by the Executive, but are not ratified until approved by the National Assembly.

These are the principal features of the organic laws under which the government of France is now being organized. The right to declare war and make peace was first claimed for the executive, but has been settled as stated. The chief topic still under discussion is as to the manner in which Deputies shall be elected—whether by general lists in each department or by separate districts. These are termed respectively *scrutin d'liste* and *scrutin d'arrondissement*.

The Republicans and Legitimists in the present assembly support the first named method, and the Napoleonists and Orleanists the second. The reasons are obvious to those who are acquainted with French politics. The administration or executive has so much influence, by reason of its numerous appointments, that its influence and those favoring local celebrities, will be most successfully exerted under the district method; while by the general lists, the great parties and public men of national character will carry far more weight.

It is probable that the parties of the Right and Left will succeed against those of the Centres and the Buffet ministry; while at the polls there seems to be little doubt but that a Republican victory will be obtained. Probably a working majority in the new assembly will crown theirsagacious and persistent patriotism. When this question of voting by departments or arrondissements is settled, there will be little left for the assembly at Versailles to do but to prepare for its own dissolution.

A small body of the extreme Left, headed by Louis Blanc, are, however, in partial hostility to the policy of conciliation, supported by M. Gambetta. In a recent speech, M. Blanc declares that the policy of Gambetta was really voted "a non-hereditary monarchy in a country where for a century no being has bequeathed his throne to his son." The historical correctness of the statement ought to have taught M. Blanc that he exaggerates the danger arising from the considerable powers now intrusted to the French executive. The Radical orator holds the existing government to be "only that of a Monarchy, and not that of a Republic. The President summons and dismisses the ministers like a king. He appoints all public officials like a king. He can command armies; he can be re-elected twice, and govern for twenty-one years."

M. Gambetta's policy, as indicated by his speeches and the paper which represents him, is very clear and distinct. He sees plainly that the old order is on the defensive; that the new or Democratic forces are advancing and aggressive, but that the power of resistance in the first is ample enough (and likely to remain so for some time to come) to hinder any too rapid development, or crush any rash effort to achieve to-day what could only be fairly and fully secured to-morrow. The ex-Dictator comprehends that to establish a Republic securely there must be Republicans, and while there can be little doubt to any impartial observers that a majority have ranged itself on that side, yet it is equally as evident that the large minority have the wealth, patronage, with both culture and ignorance, and prestige of centuried rule behind them. A long breathing spell is wanted for intelligent apprehension of Republican ideas, and for their peaceful formulation into laws and habits and administration thereof.

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 "A REPUDIATED DEBT CURRENCY in unlimited quantities," say the Ohio Democrats. "A sound currency of coin or its equivalent," say the Maine Democrats. "A tariff for revenue," say the Ohio Democrats. "A tariff for revenue only, say the Maine Democrats. And yet the Ohio and Maine Democrats call themselves by the same name, and profess to belong to the same political church.

## INFLATION OF THE CURRENCY INJURIOUS.

The necessity which caused the issue of a paper currency to meet the exceptional wants of the war, caused also a great increase in private and national expenditure by disturbing values, and by driving out of circulation the world's currency—gold and silver. It will be observed that the Republican statesmen who prepared the bill governing the issue of currency, were well aware of the effect it would have; and they constantly kept in mind the time when paper should be of equal value with gold. Of course, it is not to be expected that the subject of National finance is scientifically understood by all who are sent as representatives to Congress. And it may be readily conceived that circumstances might arise in which the solution of a difficulty was said to lie in the issue of more greenbacks, or in allowing the issue already out to remain undisturbed. Such persons, especially if they represented communities who had suffered from financial pressure from any cause, were inclined to throw their influence in the direction of the issue of more currency, and of putting further off the period of return to specie payments. But in view of those who had charge of the finances of the country, it required continuous labor to provide for a judicious contraction of the volume of greenbacks in order to pave the way for specie resumption, and for a reduction from ruling prices.

The difference of opinion thus existing has caused delay on various occasions, and led to fluctuations which have raised or depressed values. It has certainly interfered with the approximation of paper with gold, and prevented gold and silver from being accessible to persons who desired that greenbacks might be convertible at will. While the country has so large an amount of paper currency in circulation, a people so disposed to speculate as ours, will do so regardless of its effects. And had no measures been passed to redeem a given amount of greenbacks, and to withdraw and cancel them, that they might never again be issued, a panic might always be threatened by men who thrive on the destruction of others. To guard against panics,

therefore, and to restore the circulation to its normal condition, preparatory to still further reduction, inflation in the future is absolutely forbidden.

When there is a redundant supply in the market of any commodity, it is always cheap, no matter what the commodity is. And if there is a redundant supply of paper money in circulation beyond the demands of business, it is always depreciated, because gold goes up. The greenback, therefore, buys less than it would if there was less difference between its face value than its quoted value in gold. To inflate the currency would bring upon the people the reverse of what was expected from it. Prices would rise; and with the rise in price, men of fixed incomes derived from labor, would find that they could not obtain from their labor the necessities and comforts they formerly received when gold was low. As an evidence how inflation ran up prices, we have only to refer to any period when the volume of the currency was increased. Then, the stationary incomes which did not increase, and on which families had lived in economical respectability, were felt to be inadequate unless the expenses were diminished in the ratio of increased cost. This was the experience in thousands of cases; and heads of families who had silently borne the pressure of the times in the hope of better days coming, looked around with sorrow on the fact.

Had Mr. Bristow, the present Secretary of the Treasury, the administration of the Act of Congress of 1866, which provided that \$10,000,000 of United States notes or greenbacks might be retired and cancelled within six months from the passage of the act, and under which \$44,000,000 were retired by Mr. McCulloch when the provisions of the act were suspended by the act of February 4, 1868, we do not think that he would have sanctioned the reissue of any part of the 44,000,000. At all events, he is decidedly against inflation in any form. And we find that he has directed the retirement and destruction of \$1,292,420 in legal tenders, being eighty per cent of new national bank circulation issued during the present month.

## THE LIFE SAVING SERVICE AND THE REVENUE MARINE.

There are some things in the history of the past, which show how little the country has been indebted to the Democratic party for its progress and development of the higher instincts of our nature. But there is abundant evidence of noble actions having been performed by individuals or by communities, dwelling on the banks of rivers or by the seashore, who sought to save life at the risk of their own and frequently with pleasing success. Their inspiration, however, was not obtained from the Democratic party. That party was in power for many years, and only relinquished it when Mr. Lincoln assumed the office of Chief Magistrate. The quarter of a century immediately preceding the war, was a most eventful period in our annals. Steam, and railroad and telegraph came into common use. The world beyond took gigantic strides, which were followed by men of energy with us. But the Democratic party was too dull to be influenced by the spirit of progress. The opportunity was presented, but it failed to take advantage of it. National advancement had no charms for the untried. To confront the known dangers of navigating our own waters, and to plan the means of rescue, was an occupation too flat, stale and unprofitable to be worth Democratic attention; for the highest ambition of the Democratic party, then as now, was to yield, with proud satisfaction, the control of the country, to the threats of the enemies of liberty, and to shape its legislation in the interest of their patrons. In consequence, there were but few inter-State amenities between the South and the North; few efforts were made to build up that humane sentiment which should mark the nobility of a free and intelligent people; and fewer efforts still were made to carry out those broader views of duty which spring so naturally from the principles of the Republican party, which governed during the war of the Rebellion, and which continue to govern in its dealings with the affairs of men. Fierce political conflict was, however, softened by discussions of the claims of humanity exposed to suffering and peril. One of these discussions led

to the consideration of what should be done to lessen the dangers of our coast navigation and to save life and property from shipwreck. And from this arose the Life Saving Service, which is allied to the Revenue Marine.

## REVENUE MARINE.

At the beginning of the year 1872, the Revenue Marine consisted of twenty-five steam-vessels, (including two steam-launches) and ten sailing vessels, which, with the exception of two steamers upon the lakes, whose services were not required, were in commission and distributed along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and upon the lakes.

The vessels of the Revenue Marine, patrol our waters chiefly to protect the public revenue against smuggling, and to lend assistance to mariners and vessels in distress. As illustrating the great improvement which has been made in the service during the past two years, the following is a comparative statement of the service rendered by revenue vessels (exclusive of those of a special nature, which cannot be easily ascertained), for each year from 1860 to 1870, inclusive, with those rendered in the last fiscal year. The statement is made by calendar years, because the information happens to be more easily obtainable in that form:

Years.	Assisted in distress.	Seized or reported.	Miles sailed.	Boards and examined.	Lives saved.
1860.....	88	96	112,131	11,095	5
1861.....	129	111	157,774	12,391	20
1862.....	134	143	147,155	9,728	23
1863.....	117	118	174,111	9,396	19
1864.....	61	103	99,326	38,815	3
1865.....	116	90	126,552	17,373	7
1866.....	143	133	192,597	8,607	33
1867.....	126	154	192,313	10,850	14
1868.....	108	83	155,910	7,923	25
1869.....	109	79	156,910	7,927	25
1870.....	177	149	165,993	9,386	18
Total.....	1,306	1,239	1,624,590	144,043	192
Average per year	119	114	147,599	13,008	17
Fiscal year ended June 30, 1872.	219	1,594	166,093	24,332	37

It is proper to say that 1,101 of the 1,594 vessels seized or reported for the violation of revenue law in the last fiscal year were re-



turned by the Jasmine and Uno, the two New York harbor-boats, which, until last year, made no returns; but leaving this number out of the account, there remain 493, being more than three times the number seized and reported in any previous year, and more than four times the average.

The reports for the first quarter of the fiscal year, 1873, indicate great improvement even over the last. They give the number of vessels assisted in distress during the months of July, August and September, as 63; the number seized or reported for violation of law, 539; the number of miles sailed, 57,880; the number of vessels boarded and examined, 10,892; and the number of lives saved, 77.

The running expenses of the service for the fiscal year were \$930,249.81, being \$190,776.62 less than those of the previous year, and \$127,389.19 less than the amount appropriated.

Since 1864 the expenses of sustaining the service have been as follows:

For the fiscal year ended—

June 30, 1865 .....	\$1,229,434.04
June 30, 1866 .....	1,777,230.70
June 30, 1867 .....	1,167,125.41
June 30, 1868 .....	1,293,661.67
June 30, 1869 .....	1,185,702.26
June 30, 1870 .....	1,133,670.15
June 30, 1871 .....	1,121,026.43
June 30, 1872 .....	930,249.81

Previous to 1864 the cost of maintaining the Revenue Cutter Service cannot well be ascertained, the accounts not having been kept separate from the general expenses of collecting the revenue.

Although there has been a steady decrease in expenses from year to year since 1868, as shown by the above statement, the difference between those of the last year and the preceding one considerably exceeds the reduction of all the intervening years.

The increased efficiency and decreased cost above shown are principally due to carrying into effect, as far as practicable, the recommendations of the special commission convened in 1869, and whose report was submitted to Congress, May 20, 1870, and to the strict enforcement of the revised regulations promulgated August 1, 1871, which has ef-

fectuated a thorough re-organization of the service.

The services rendered during the fiscal years of 1872—1874, are shown in the following statement:

Fiscal years ending—	Vessels assisted in distress.	Seized or reported for violation of law.	Miles sailed.	Boarded and examined.	Lives saved.
June 30, 1872.....	219	1,594	166,098	24,932	37
June 30, 1873.....	210	1,605	185,638	30,543	109
June 30, 1874.....	153	1,810	169,882	27,748	4
Total.....	582	5,009	521,648	83,223	150
Average per year	194	1,669	173,882	27,741	50

The expenses of the Revenue Marine for the two fiscal years ended—

June 30, 1873, were .....	\$995,308.88
June 30, 1874, " .....	903,601.83

This exhibits a reduction of \$94,707.05, notwithstanding the last report of the Secretary of the Treasury states that the number of vessels now in commission is thirty-four, of which thirty are steamers and four sailing vessels. They are so distributed as to embrace in their cruising grounds the entire coast of the United States, with the exception of a portion of the Pacific coast, and afford reasonable protection against the smuggling of goods into the country by the cargo. For the portion of the Pacific coast alluded to, a vessel was authorized to be built at the last session of Congress, and plans and specifications for her construction are now in preparation.

THE LIFE SAVING SERVICE.

In 1848, Hon. William A. Newell, a member of the House of Representatives from New Jersey, called the attention of the government to the practicability and duty of providing means for affording relief to vessels navigating the dangerous coast of his State, and advocated the establishment of station houses at suitable intervals, to be furnished with surf boats and other appliances adapted to the purpose of rendering assistance to vessels cast ashore by stress of weather. Congress at that session made an appropriation of \$10,000 "for providing surf-boats, rockets, carronades, and other necessary ap-



paratus for the better preservation of life and property from shipwreck on the coast lying between Sandy Hook and Little Egg Harbor," and in subsequent years it extended the stations and equipment to other States, and doubled the first appropriation. But it must be said that during the twenty-two years intervening between the beginning of the Life-Saving Service and the commencement of the fiscal year of 1871, comparatively little had been expended in its support, yet the instances are rare in which so small an expenditure was productive of so vast an amount of good. Although no official record of disasters was kept prior to the appointment of Superintendents in 1855, and the reports made to the Department since have not been regular or complete, it is certain that 4,163 lives were rescued, and that \$715,000 worth of property was saved through the instrumentality of this service. There is reason to believe that these figures would be largely increased if accurate statistics could be obtained. The total amount of money expended in the support of the service is less than \$280,000.

The occurrence of several fatal disasters in the winter of 1870-71 made it apparent that the service was not in the effective condition that it should be, and Congress, by act approved April 20, 1871, made an appropriation of \$200,000, for the purpose of increasing its efficiency, to be expended in accordance with the provisions of the act of December 14, 1854, and authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to employ crews of experienced surfmen at such stations and for such periods as he might deem necessary and proper.

With a view of ascertaining the actual state of affairs, the Department availed itself of the experience of an officer, and directed him to visit both coasts, and carefully examine every station and report its condition, as well as the condition of the service generally.

The duty was thoroughly performed, and the report of the officer was transmitted to the Senate in response to a resolution of that body, January 22, 1872. He found that most of the stations were too remote from each other; that the houses were dilapidated and needed repairs and enlargement. There

was evidence also of neglect and misuse. The apparatus was rusty for want of care, and some of it ruined by the depredations of vermin and malicious persons. Many of the most necessary articles were wanting, and at no station was the outfit complete. At some of the stations where crews were employed in the winter months, such indispensable articles as powder, rockets, shot lines, shovels, &c., were not to be found. At other stations not a portable article was left. Some of the keepers were too old for active service, others lived too far from their stations, and few of them were really competent for their positions. Politics had had more influence in their appointment than qualification for the duties required of them. Even in the selection of crews for the stations where they were employed, fitness was a secondary consideration. The employment of paid crews at alternate stations had provided crews where they were comparatively little needed, while it had left others, where regular crews were most necessary, to rely upon such aid as might be volunteered. It had also excited discontent among those who had habitually volunteered their services at the intervening stations, and a feeling that an unjust discrimination was made against them.

On the receipt of the officer's report, the proper measures were taken to remedy the defects of the service; and to place it upon a better footing. Inefficient officers were removed and suitable persons appointed in their places. Instructions were given that the strictest regard should be had to experience and qualification as surfmen in the selection of crews, and that proper care should be taken of the houses and apparatus. Specific directions were forwarded to the Superintendent for the keeping of suitable records and making reports to the Departments, and a journal was furnished the keeper of every station in which he was required to make entries of all pertinent facts. Steps were also taken to effect a thorough re-organization of the service, and to prepare a suitable set of regulations for its government.

During the fall of 1871, thirteen new houses were erected on the New Jersey coast; six on the Long Island coast; the old houses on that coast, east of Fire Island, having been

already repaired and enlarged, and the erection of several new houses contracted for.

In 1872, there were 30 Life Saving Stations on the coast of Long Island, and 40 on the coast of New Jersey; 9 on Cape Cod; 1 on Black Island; and 1 on Narragansett Pier;—81 stations in all. And the following shows the service rendered:

## SUMMARY.

Number of wrecks .....	22
Value of vessels wrecked .....	\$227,300
Value of cargoes (as far as reported) .....	\$241,800
Amount of property saved .....	\$289,756
Amount of property lost .....	\$208,344
Number of lives saved .....	206

In 1873, the Life Saving Service comprised eighty-one stations, which are located upon the coasts of Cape Cod, Rhode Island, Long Island and New Jersey, and are divided into three districts—the coast of Cape Cod, from Race Point to Monomoy, forming the first; the coasts of Rhode Island and Long Island, from Narragansett pier to Coney Island, the second; and the coast of New Jersey from Sandy Hook to Cape May the third.

The number of wrecks which have occurred since the last report, upon coasts where stations were in operation, as shown by the wreck reports of the keepers of stations, is as follows:

No. 1 .....	9
No. 2 .....	10
No. 3 .....	13

Total number of wrecks .....

32

No. of lives imperilled .....	235
No. of lives saved .....	234
No. of lives lost .....	1
No. of shipwrecked persons sheltered in station-houses .....	33
No. of days' shelter afforded .....	77
Property imperilled .....	\$832,230
Property saved .....	581,241
Property lost .....	226,029

The cost of maintaining the service during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1873, exclusive of the amount expended in the construction and establishment of new stations, was \$87,893.83.

Congress also appropriated \$100,000 "for the establishment of new life-saving stations upon the coast of the United States," and contracts were made for the construction of

twenty-one new stations, at the following points:

On the coast of Maine:

West Quoddy Head, (near Carrying Point Cove.)

Cross Island, (Machias Bay.)

Browney's Island (near Jonesport.)

Whitehead Island, (Penobscot Bay.)

The Pool, (Saco Bay.)

On the coast of New Hampshire:

Rye Beach (near Straw's Point.)

On the coast of Massachusetts:

Plum Island, (Sandy Beach.)

Davis' Neck, (Ipswich Bay.)

Gurnett Point, (near light-house.)

Manomet.

"Surf Side," (south side of Nantucket.)

On the coast of Virginia:

Cape Henry.

On the coast of North Carolina:

Dan Neck Mills.

False Cape.

Jones' Hill,

Caffrey's Inlet.

Kitty Hawk's Beach.

Nag's Head.

Trent Woods.

Chicamacomico.

Little Kinnakeet.

Under the Act of March 3, 1873, which appropriated \$30,000 for the purpose, the Storm Signal system of the Signal Service has been connected with the Life Saving Service at several of the stations on the New Jersey coast, and through it, the Treasury Department is placed in direct telegraphic communication with the stations at Sandy Hook, Monmouth Beach, Squan, Barnegat, Atlantic City, Peck's Beach and Cape May; and the system will be extended to the stations on the North Carolina coast.

In order still further to increase the efficiency of the Life Saving Service, regulations for the government of the service, based upon the several acts of Congress relating to the subject, were promulgated, which effected a complete organization of the service, and which, with such changes as its growth will compel, it is believed, will be adequate to its proper and efficient government. They divide the stations into convenient districts, each to be cared for by a superintendent, and

provide for an appropriate supervision of them all by an inspector. They specify the duties of each person connected with the service, and provide for the proper care of all the stations and their appurtenances. They include a simple, but ample code of signals, devised by the inspector, for intercommunication between the stations; instructions and drill in the use of the apparatus; hints as to the management of boats; instructions for saving drowning persons by swimming to their relief, and directions for restoring the apparently drowned.

The last report of the Life Saving Service embraces the fiscal year of 1874, and shows that twenty-two new stations were established, as follows: Five on the coast of Maine, one on the coast of New Hampshire, five on the coast of Massachusetts, one on the coast of Rhode Island, three on the coast of Virginia, and seven on the coast of North Carolina. They are completely equipped and manned. Contract has been entered into for the construction of six stations on the coast of Maryland and Virginia, between Cape Henlopen and Cape Charles, under authority of the act of June 20, 1874, and arrangements will be made for the erection of two other stations between these capes, on the coast of Delaware, as soon as possession of the sites selected for them, which are the property of the State, can be obtained. The act of June 23, 1874, appropriated the sum of \$342,304.44 to carry out the act above cited.

When these stations are completed and put in operation, the Atlantic coast, from Quoddy Head to Cape Hatteras, with the exception, perhaps, of the vicinity of Point Judith, will be well protected. South of Cape Hatteras nothing is needed, except the houses of refuge provided for by the act above referred to.

The one hundred and four stations located in the five districts, designated as the Maine district, the Cape Cod district, Rhode Island and Long Island district, the New Jersey district, and the Virginia and North Carolina district, embrace the most dangerous portions of the Atlantic Coast. From the reports of the Superintendents it appears that during

the season of 1873-4 forty-eight vessels, valued, with their cargoes, at \$2,331,606, and having on board 1,106 persons, were driven on these shores. In twenty-nine instances the life-saving apparatus was called into requisition, and 303 persons were rescued by it. Of the amount of property jeopardized only \$457,282 was lost, and the number of lives lost was but two. Both of these were caused by the falling of the mast of a vessel when she struck—a case in which, of course, life saving appliances were not available. The number of days' shelter afforded shipwrecked persons at the stations was 494.

The Life Saving Service had been in operation under the present system three years on the coasts of Long Island and New Jersey and two years on the coast of Cape Cod. The statistics of disasters upon these coasts during that time are reported as follows:

Wrecks.....	102
Lives imperilled.....	1,607
Lives saved.....	1,604
Lives lost.....	3
Shipwrecked persons sheltered and succored at stations.....	149
Days' shelter afforded.....	571
Property imperilled.....	\$3,685,936
Property saved.....	2,758,281
Property lost.....	927,655

Almost all the disasters which occur upon these coasts are from the stranding of vessels, and it is against death and loss of property resulting from this class of disasters that the Life Saving Service, as thereon established, is designed to afford protection. The success of the system, which the foregoing statistics imply, is all that can be hoped for. It is hardly to be expected that an equal measure of success will be attained upon the lakes, where the causes and character of a large proportion of the disasters are of a different nature. That the benefits to be derived from the extension of the service there, however, will amply justify the expense involved, cannot be doubted.

Reports and statistics of shipping disasters are required to be collected under the provisions of the act of June 20, 1874; and certain statistics have been gathered. The following is a summary of wrecks and disasters which show a sad loss of human life:

*Summary of wrecks and casualties on and near the coasts and on the rivers of the United States, &c:*

Nature of casualty.	Number of vessels.	Tons.	Whether laden or in ballast.			Total losses.	Partial losses.	Number lives lost.
			Laden.	In ballast.	Unknown.			
Foundering....	29	5,287 03	26	2	1	28	1	321
Strandings....	15	1,767 01	12	1	2	12	3	36
Collisions....	4	317 58	1	2	1	1	3	5
Other causes..	43	9,925 53	26	13	4	15	28	188
Total.....	91	17,297 15	65	18	8	55	35	559

With the proof thus presented of the necessity and the efficiency of the Life Saving Service, its gradual extension will be justified to all parts of the dangerous coasts of the United States frequented by vessels either domestic or foreign. The appropriations of a Republican Congress infused life and vigor into a service which had been allowed to languish for lack of sympathy, and to become almost useless from incompetent men, insufficient equipment, and decaying station houses. Its present condition is an evidence that the Republican party fully realizes the wants, in this respect, of a great maritime nation, and desires to supply them conscientiously. Our Life Saving Service is superior to that of any other country, because no foreign service receives assistance from the government. Even the Royal National Life Boat Institution of England is a private association, called into existence by the bounty of the benevolent. As a private institution, it has rendered great service; but its subscription list must needs be limited; which, limiting the number of stations, must leave many points on the dangerous British coast altogether unprotected. It cannot, therefore, compare in effectiveness with our Life Saving Service, whose numerous stations dot the coasts of the United States, and whose men are ever on the watch, day and night, to rescue unfortunates from the perils of the deep. Nor can a private institution, however grand its character and beneficent its working, when supported only by voluntary contributions—though it bask under the patronage of Royalty—compete with an institution national

in its breadth, supported by the nation, and regulated with all the precision of the naval service; for there must be periods when its usefulness is crippled by the fluctuation of its means.

The aim of the Republican party has been to place this country at the head of all the nations of the earth. It has done this, to a great extent; and the United States of North America leads the van in many things which denote the enterprise and earnestness of our daily life. It has given a new career to the Life Saving Service by enabling it to respond to the national desire that aid should be rendered to shipwrecked mariners at widely distant places of danger; and properly rescued from jeopardy by marine disasters. From the success achieved in the past, and the present, it is but just to the Republican party—the party comprising the best elements in the nation—that the trust reposed in it should be continued. It has left its mark upon the age, and built up the Republic in grandeur and strength; and it seems but the teaching of wisdom that the Republican party should be left to complete its plans for this important service, and plant its stations, boats and crews wherever the claims of humanity and of commerce may call for them.

The folly and danger of leaving loaded pistols within the reach of children received a sad illustration in Cincinnati on Sunday. A respectable German of that city, who had purchased a new revolver on Saturday, left it lying, loaded, on the mantle-piece of his room. In his absence, a son, fifteen years old, possessed himself of the pistol and began snapping it—“in fun”—at a little two-year old brother. In a moment the pistol was discharged, and the bullet went crashing into the baby's forehead. The little one lived only half an hour, and the parent survives to mourn his carelessness.

It is the duty of man to provide for his family. It is no less his duty to provide good government for the community in which he lives. This he can do by doing his duty at the primary meeting and at the ballot-box. Nominate good men, and then do your best to elect them. This should be one of the highest obligations of citizenship.

## THE TRUTH OF HISTORY.

The friends of Jefferson Davis are very angry because General Sherman, in his Memoirs, chooses, when giving an account of the Johnston surrender to mention his own and the general suspicion on the Union side, of the Confederate leaders being a party to the plot which terminated so tragically by the assassination of Mr Lincoln. Southern newspapers declaim loudly against this accusation. They are wasting a large amount of fine rhetoric over what was then a very natural feeling. But Sherman is able to take care of himself in this matter. The intent of this present article is to show that while claiming to defend Mr Davis from a false accusation, southern editors are eagerly endeavoring to do more, and seek to use it as a means of vindicating the public policy of the Confederacy, for the character of which their President must have been, and in fact was, in a very large degree, personally responsible. Just here, then, is where a natural and historical interest is developed, in what otherwise it would not be worth while noticing.

The *Mobile Daily Register*, is edited by a veteran in southern affairs, Mr Forsyth, and what he says is always noteworthy. In an editorial of June 11th it quotes Sherman's account of his remarks to General Johnston, when informing him of Mr Lincoln's assassination: "I told him I could not believe that he, or General Lee, or the officers of the Confederate army, could possibly be privy to acts of assassination; but I would not say as much for Jeff Davis, George Sanders, and men of that stripe."

The *Register* proceeds to argue that Sherman had no right then or now to say this; that Davis was a reluctant secessionist; that he made union speeches in the canvass of 1860; that in fact he was behind the south and not in advance. It then says:

"After he accepted it he pleaded for the laws and usages of civilized warfare when many who are now high in the regard of the Northern people, and some who have sold their birth-right for a mess of pottage, were in favor of raising the black flag and consigning all alike, guilty and innocent, women and children, to a common butchery. It was the iron hand of Jeff-

erson Davis which held the most horrid passions in check and which preserved unsullied the banner of St. Andrew. While there are some traits of his character which we did not like, there is nothing in his career which any honorable man can stamp with opprobrium. If he erred, his errors were a love of the cause which the people had committed to his hands and an unconquerable determination to liberate his people. When Sherman attempts to degrade Mr Davis, he attempts to degrade the whole South. We do not intend that thorns shall be placed upon the brow of the leader while flowers are being strewn upon the graves of those who chose him as a leader."

The italics are not in the original. They are placed there so as to emphasize what is claimed with what will be said herein.

Contrary to the assumptions of the *Register*, history will finally sum up the career of Mr. Jefferson Davis in a very different manner, more especially in this matter of "civilized warfare." One fact is noticeable in scanning the southern annals of the civil war, and that is, that such prominent politicians and officers as were noted during the continuance of hostilities for ultra language, bitter denunciations of the northern people, cruel treatment of prisoners or loud-mouthed propositions for war *a-la-outrance*, were in every sense the chosen friends of Jefferson Davis, in his personal and public position. Every year adds to the evidence that the men who in the Confederate Congress, sought to establish the fact that the war was one amenable to the laws and usages of civilization, were those regarded as hostile to the confederate administration.

In military affairs, Early, Hood, Bragg, Forrest, D. H. Hill, Beauregard, Hindman, and many others, notorious for brutal warfare and loud denunciation, were the favorites of their chief. The rebel archives, portions of which have been published, offer abundant proof of the direct and official sympathy of Jefferson Davis with propositions for raids on unarmed territory, like that of St Albans; with the efforts made to organize a systematic plan of guerrilla warfare in such regions as Western Missouri, East Tennessee, Kentucky and elsewhere; with movements for enlisting Indians and exciting the hos-

tility of the wild tribes on the plains and mountains of the central territories; and more atrocious than these, with the conspiracies hatched in Canada and Richmond to raise riots in defenceless cities, to burn hotels, to poison the water, and infect the dwellings with contagious diseases. No one has yet denied the authenticity of publications made in 1872, from the rebel archives, of the reports made by C. C. Clay jr., of Alabama, Prof. Holcombe of Virginia, and Jacob Thompson of Mississippi, in which accounts are given from Canada to the Confederate State Department, on the subjects alluded to, and others of the same general character. These papers from which the publications were made, bore the formal marks of reception by Judah P. Benjamin, their reference to Mr. Davis, and his approval of the same.

It is hardly necessary to refer to the treatment of Union prisoners at the pens of Andersonville, Salisbury, Belle Isle, Tyler, and other places. It has never been seriously controverted that General Winder, the brutal officer in charge of captured "federels," was the direct choice of Jefferson Davis for that service, or that he was steadily sustained by him in the barbarous policy so thoroughly pursued—of systematically keeping prisoners in a state of semi-starvation, so that when exchanged, if ever, they should not be in a fit condition to do more service. The endorsement of Mr. Davis can be found to reports, and other documents setting forth these ideas of "civilized warfare." Nor will it be denied that Mr. Davis was the author and promulgator of the atrocious announcement, that colored men enlisted as soldiers or sailors, in the Union forces, were not to be regarded, if captured, as prisoners of war, but were to be sent into slavery, or shot on sight, while "no quarter" was the order fulminated against the white officers, by whom they were commanded. Mr. Davis can be proven to have been cognizant or approving of the execution of such orders, notably at Fort Wagner, Fort Pillow, and on the Steele-Banks campaigns of Arkansas and Louisiana, in the early summer of 1864. In these and other movements, where colored troops were engaged, wounded men were shot in the field by Confederate soldiers, acting under gen-

eral orders, emanating from Richmond, while their officers were slain when captured, or in a few instances only escaped that fate by claiming to belong to white regiments known to be in the opposing force.

Mention has been made of the early employment of Indians by the Confederacy. Albert Pike, acting under the direct orders of Davis, appeared in the Indian Territory as early as June, 1861, and as Special Confederate Commissioner, commenced the work of raising an Indian division, among the semi-civilized peoples living there. Two companies of Choctaws entered the Confederate service at Fort Smith, Arkansas, as early as the middle of July, and were engaged under Sterling Price at the battle of Wilson's Creek, or Oak Hills, Missouri, as the rebels term it, on the 10th of August, 1861. It will be remembered as the scene of Nathaniel Lyon's heroic death. Albert Pike, himself, commanded an Indian division at the battle of Pea Ridge, in March of 1862. These occurrences were long before Indians were enlisted in the Union army—which enlistments were as Home Guards to defend the territory from which Pike's Indian troops had driven them at first. At the same time Pike was engaged in compelling the Cherokees to violate their treaties, and serve unwillingly (a majority of them at least) on the Confederate side. He also directed the resistance to and pursuit of the loyal Indians, who under the Creek Chief, O-poth-le-ye-ho-lo, finally fought their way to Kansas. Long before that event occurred, however, Albert Pike, acting under the instructions of Jefferson Davis, had endeavored to incite the nomadic tribes of the central plains, (the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, etc.,) to a violation of treaty relations and the assumption of hostility towards the United States. The British have always been condemned by historians, for uncivilized warfare, in employing Indians and inciting them to hostilities against the Americans, during the war of Independence. Under the influence of Pike a council was held during the late summer of 1861, in the western portion of the Indian territory, at which representatives of the Indians, from as far north as Wyoming and Dakota, were present, and every inducement was offered to bring about an offensive



alliance with the Confederacy. The Creek Chief named, and others, had sufficient influence to prevent this, but the effects of that and subsequent action was felt throughout the frontier settlements, during the entire war, in the restless hostility of the Indians, who had come to believe the whites powerless, because of intestine war. Nor was this the only action taken. Jefferson Davis commissioned a number of well-known and desperate adventurers to proceed to such territories as Colorado, Utah, Western Kansas, etc., and inaugurate a system of partisan war, enlisting Indians, breaking up military communications and otherwise to harry the unarmed people where they were to operate. Orders and commissions were given these desperadoes, who were captured by Union forces in the early part of 1864. Of the same character was the recognition of Quantrile, Thompson, Anderson, and other Missouri guerrillas. It has not been denied that the first named, with others, received commissions from Jefferson Davis, as officers of "partisan" regiments—he authorized to be formed in Missouri—Quantrile himself taking rank as Lieutenant Colonel. So much for the ideas of Jefferson Davis as to what constituted "civilized warfare." These are only a tithe of the facts that might be suggested.

His treatment of the communities and persons within the borders of the rebel States, who were not heartily in sympathy with the treason he led and directed, constitutes after all the foulest blot on his name. The cruel conscript laws were the product of Jefferson Davis's brain. There still crueler execution received his steadfast approval. It is well-known that the autocratic temper of Mr. Davis allowed no one else to shape the salient features of Confederate policy, and that his personal vanity and prejudices led him to constant and personal supervision of and interference with the execution and management of leading details.

As to the treatment of the Southern people, who were supposed to be disaffected, it is not necessary to seek any other evidence than that of public men of the South, who were in unmistakable sympathy with the rebellion.

Albert Pike, still living and practicing law in Washington, "can a tale unfold," if he chooses to, of atrocious cruelty and tyranny exercised in Arkansas, under the orders of a

particular favorite of Jefferson Davis, General Hindman, shot, after the war, by some person unknown, who, it was reasonably supposed, thus took revenge for preceding cruelties. Pike published in 1863, several papers addressed to the Confederate government and to the people of the South, setting forth in detail, the atrocious tyrannies perpetrated by Hindman and denouncing them in very vigorous language. For these remonstrances, private and public, Albert Pike was driven from the Confederate service and relieved by Davis himself from all command or duty.

What was true of Arkansas was true of nearly every other Southern State. Governor Brown, of Georgia, ranged himself against the home policy of Davis, and Governor Vance, of North Carolina, was emphatic in his denunciations thereof. The following letter, addressed by Governor Vance to J. A. Seddon, then rebel Secretary of War, will show the policy of Jefferson Davis at home:

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,  
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,  
RALEIGH, Dec. 21, 1863.

*Hon. James A. Seddon, Secretary of War.*

DEAR SIR:—I desire to call your attention to an evil which is inflicting great distress upon the people of this State, and contributing largely to the public discontent. I allude to illegal seizures of property and other depredations of an outrageous character by detached bands of troops, chiefly cavalry. The department, I am sure, can have no idea of the extent and character of this evil. It is enough, in many cases, to breed a rebellion in a loyal county against the Confederacy, and has actually been the cause of much alienation of feeling in many parts of North Carolina. It is not my purpose now to give instances, and call for punishment of the offenders—that I do to their commanding officers—but I ask if some order or regulation cannot be made for the government of troops on detached service, the severe and unflinching execution of which might check this stealing, pilfering, burning, and sometimes murderous conduct. I give you my word that in North Carolina it has become a grievance, damnable and not to be borne! If God Almighty had yet in store another plague, worse than all others, which he intended to let loose on the Egyptians, in case Pharaoh still hardened his heart, I am sure it must have been a regiment or so of half-disciplined Confederate cavalry. Had they been turned loose among Pharaoh's subjects, with or without an Impressment law, he would



have become so sensible of the anger of God that he never would have followed the children of Israel to the Red Sea!—no, sir, not one inch! Cannot officers be reduced to the ranks for permitting this? Cannot a few men be shot for perpetrating these outrages? Unless something can be done, I shall be compelled in some sections to call out my militia and levy actual war against them. I beg your early and earnest attention to this matter. Very respectfully yours.

(Signed,)

Z. B. VANCE.

The rebel commander of the department, which embraced North Carolina, was General D. H. Hill, who is still one of the warmest of the friends of Jefferson Davis, as well as an exceptionally vituperative assailant of all Northern views and public men.

But why extend the indictment? It could be done almost indefinitely. The facts are too recent to be forgotten, though the bitterness of the memories they evoke have so far faded as to arouse no opposition to the spirit of reconciliation, which finds lodgment in the Northern heart, and is only disturbed or veiled when, as in this case, an attempt is made to falsify history and torture the records. The object in this is plain. Its explanation is found in the general effort now making in the South to rehabilitate the old secession abstractionists and State sovereignty politicians and leaders, under whose advice that section plunged into civil war, and to put them forward as the proper representatives of a people they deceived, and over whom they ruled with cruel vigor during the period of belligerent authority.

Much is now said about the fraternization of the citizen-soldiery of both sections. No heart or brain that holds kindly feelings for its fellow-men, can fail to rejoice at the recent manifestations of this spirit. Yet, it behooves all thoughtful persons, who recognize the essential distinctions that were the animating cause of the civil war, to lose sight of no one of the principles on which the nation will be founded, if it is to remain great, progressive and undivided, as the centennial anniversaries call into recurring decades. Above all must there be more and constant watchfulness of the southern politicians. What is "bred in the bones" must "come out in the flesh," and men engaged for a

generation and a half in spinning political theories as a reason for liberticide and treason, are not likely to surrender their hopes, however they may change their method and curtail their ambition, because defeat came in the field of war. There is a systematic movement to bring out the old leaders, and the gallant men they once betrayed into a losing fight, are to be led into political support, by the appeal to their pride which is found in Forsyth's declaration, that thorns must not "be placed on the brow of the leader, while flowers are being strewn on the graves of those who followed."

The loyal men of the Union who were in the army or out of it, have no animosities to cherish; no revenge to serve. They were only the defenders and servants of an assailed country. To them, to-day, Jefferson Davis is utterly insignificant. He is almost forgotten. His name is a mere echo, but when he is indecently thrust before their notice, memories are stirred and in behalf of principles, there comes the necessity of truthful statement. He may represent the old South. His acute brain and eloquent tongue; his haughty temper and narrow prejudices; his sectional pride and provincial limitations of thought; his restless vanity and ornate courtesies of manner—the veneer of a bastard aristocracy—and his bitter personal animosities, as well as his inordinate self-pride, are all personal exaggerations of a prevailing type of character created by slavery and the habit of exalting it into a political system. The cruelty which so completely marked the conduct of his administration, military, civil and local, also found in him a logical and proper exponent. There is no desire on the part of the North to prevent the enologizing of Jefferson Davis. It could not do it if it would, but when it is done so systematically as at present and in pursuance of an evidently understood design, those who know the facts of his remarkable career, do well when they recite them, not to adorn a tale, but to point the moral of continued watchfulness. The people of the South may be trusted. That is a lesson of Republicanism. But their aspiring, ambitious and faithful leaders, are to be avoided. All the North desires is "to let 'em alone."

## RECONSTRUCTION AND THE REVIVAL OF INDUSTRY IN THE SOUTH.

A majority of the reports that come from the South speak more favorably of the revival of industrious efforts and interests. Northern business men, politicians and journalists, concur in the chorus which the Southern press itself has raised. This last-named fact is a proof that the break in the armor of sectional prejudice and pride has been found, and that there, as well as everywhere, in this age, it is in the region of the pocket. It has been evident to all thoughtful observers that the regeneration, so needed and desired, must be largely aided by the results of material reconstruction.

Manifold evidences of this are to be found on every hand. The letters now being published in the New York *Herald* and Chicago *Tribune*, the one an "independent" but sensational newspaper, and the other an "independent" Republican journal, faithful to principles, critical of persons and policies, are worthy of study in this connection. Both writers have traveled in Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Alabama and Georgia. They unite in denouncing the corruption of "carpet-bagism," though not with that keen discrimination so necessary to justice. They agree that Democrats are no more honest than the Republicans they assail; and both unite in showing that the "color-line" is still maintained, with more or less ferocity of manifestation, as there is more or less effective resistance to its spirit.

On one thing these writers agree most heartily, and that is, the good working qualities of the colored laborers, and the widespread effort that is now making to insure a crop and rebuild the waste places. It is also certain, that where Democratic success has been most marked, this spirit is most feeble and spasmodic; and that wherever, on the contrary, the ideas of Republican equity have successfully fought their way to recognition, as in Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina, there the greater harmony prevails between employer and employed. All this is in the line of reconstruction. It has been evident from the first, that to sustain the work

of political regeneration was to maintain the results of our victory, and gather, for the prosperity of the nation, and of the States also, the harvest which can only come from the efforts of free labor. Obstacles were in the way; the old structure had to be used, rent as it was from foundation to roof; our various fortunes had to be sheltered within the gaping walls. The old temple was to be rebuilt, and the materials that were there before had to be re-used. The stone rejected by the builders — free labor — has become the cornerstone of the fair fabric, whose superb outlines begin to rise before our vision in lines of lofty grace and with proportions of fitting harmony.

The great staples appear to be flourishing. Cotton promises exceedingly well. Texas sends cheering accounts, as to increased area and promise of yield. This State has had every opportunity to do well. Escaping as it did the ravages of the civil war, and benefitting, in fact, thereby; being, as it was, the storehouse of the confederacy, Texas met reconstruction with a bolder front than other States did. A public domain of over one hundred million acres in extent, dedicated by a Republican Constitution, (framed and fought for by the men and votes of that party) to the uses of the free schools and a free homestead, has proved its most inestimable blessing. Since the surrender of the Confederate armies, Texas has added about 300,000 to its population, while as to property, the valuation, in 1870, was \$159,052,542. The probability is that the present valuation is nearer two hundred millions. It has been the chosen home of a large body of ex-confederate soldiery, just as the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, with adjacent portions of Arkansas and Alabama, are being crowded by colored immigrants, who are drawn there by the better land and the fact that their race live in numbers sufficient in the main to compel fairer treatment than they secure in other States. Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, with Tennessee, are also active and prosperous. A wider area is under cultivation.

The New York *World* insists that this is the result of greater security and peace gained by the defeat of radicalism. But why does it appear, then, by all accessible statements, that Republican Louisiana and Mississippi are far the most prosperous of the quartette it selects? In fact, it seems that the more completely a State has passed under Democratic control, the less assured is its prosperity. In proof of this, let any one compare the accounts that are given by such judges as the *Charleston News and Courier* of the prosperous condition of South Carolina, with that of the Democratic States of Georgia and North Carolina. And progress is also found therein; for the seed sown by freedom will spring up and make the desert bloom and blossom like a rose.

What the Chicago *Tribune's* special correspondent, "Harryth," says, under date of Atlanta, June 9, is worth reading. Some extracts are reproduced here on the negro citizens' political position. "Harryth" says:

"The Fifteenth Amendment it is that insures the defeat of 'white-lineism,' which, when probed to the core, is found to be but the old spirit of caste, of the days of slavery. Then whites ruled the negro by divine right, now they would rule him by virtue of their 'intelligence and wealth,'—the Democratic doctrine that ignorance and poverty shall have a share in the Government to protect themselves against the intelligence and wealth, having never once found lodgment in the Georgian mind. \* \* \*

"There is no sentimentalism about the negro in Georgia politics, and not a particle of genuine humanitarianism; and the result can be ascribed to nothing but a slight regard for appearances, and a powerful regard for negro votes."

On educational affairs he states, that though the public school system is still in its infancy, yet last year there were 2,223 white and 699 colored schools, with 45,559 white and 39,294 colored children in attendance. The census of 1870 shows that the whites numbered 638,926 persons and the colored 545,142, or only 193,784 less. The disproportion is probably now somewhat larger than then. The whites keep the matter of school accommodation at a greater disparity—there being about 25 white children at each school, and 58 colored to every one organized for their

accommodation. The Chicago *Tribune's* correspondent says:

"No adequate provision has yet been made for the maintenance of the school system. For the education of a population, between the ages of 6 and 18, of 218,733 whites, and 175,304 blacks, the only revenue appropriated is \$150,000 out of the rental of the Western and Atlantic Railroad; the receipts from poll-tax which is paid by about one-third of the voting population; and receipts from show licenses, which are hardly worth reckoning—the total net available fund for the current year being estimated at \$180,000. Last year there were no schools in fourteen counties, the local authorities applying the share of the school fund assigned those counties to payment of the school debt left them by the Bullock Administration. As I have already stated, the local authorities are not empowered to levy taxes for school purposes, and bills to give them such power have thrice been killed in the Democratic Legislature."

The position of labor, under the conditions which Democracy creates, are graphically described by this correspondent, who says that in a journey of several thousand miles through the plantation States he had not, except in Arkansas, seen a dozen white men at work in the fields. He declares:

"The condition of the negro in Georgia is, without modification, that of the negro in any of the cotton States—one of poverty, only a slight remove from beggary, and what, by any other class of American workmen, would be esteemed utter destitution, than which beggary could scarce be worse. The negro in Georgia inhabits the same wretched hovels that, in ante-war times, were the slave-quarters. He could then have scarce been possessed of fewer rags wherewith to hide his nakedness, and he could scarce have been more hardly worked or so ill-requited for his labor. The common outcry about his idleness is simply the excuse that occurs to a people who are not disposed to work, and hold that to do so would reduce them to 'a level' with the negro, for the impoverished condition of the country, because they (the white population), as a body, are mere idle consumers. The negroes work as well as men could. Not only do the men work, but the women and children as well—perhaps only because they have to."

No white laborer would live in their condition. The negro is a "creature of less wants than any white man in the Union." The towns in Georgia are filled by idle white persons who live by renting land on shares

to the negroes, as in former days they lived by hiring out their bodies. Industry is still condemned, and "the laborer" is "spoken about as men North would speak of the steam engine, and is regarded very much as live-stock is at the North." The white man loafs while he has land to rent, or runs for office to eke out his living. The most productive lands only are worked. The negroes are inadequate in number to the cultivation of the whole area, so only the most productive portions are selected. Between "25 and 40 per cent. of the cleared lands are waste and uncultivated." "The nigger" has nothing to gain by investing his labor in the improvement of subsequent crops." In Georgia, as elsewhere, the "question of labor" is what troubles. Says the correspondent:

"It has not occurred to these planters that the important move toward the solution of this vexed question would be made when they taught their sons to work. But the fathers still cherish the hope of continuing as the landed aristocracy. The sons are crowded into the over-crowded professions, or into 'business,' and aspire to be 'planters,' as were the fathers. And in Georgia (for that matter throughout the cotton country), a planter is a man who never himself works, and expects to grow rich off the work of the 'niggers.'"

Still there is little doubt but that there is more effort, generally, in the South this year. It is the effort born, in part, of a distinct realization by many land owners and employers that there is a better way to prosperity than the "color-line" indicates, and a surer one than that of bitter political wrangling. The negro is working better wherever he is treated better. The testimony is general that laborers are "working well, and everything looks remarkably promising." And this testimony is far more emphatic in the States where Republican influence is most distinctly felt. It is feeblest where, as in Georgia, the Democratic "abstractionists" find their chief occupation and success in solving the problem of how to control labor, and make all men vote their ticket.

GOVERNOR DAVIS, of Minnesota, informs the Republican State Central Committee that he will not be a candidate for re-election, and his name will not be presented to the convention.

REBELS IN OFFICE.—With every disposition to see the breach healed between the North and the South, it can only be accomplished on the principle of loyalty to the Union. It is, therefore, with feelings akin to disgust, that we read such a record as the following, which unfortunately is a true representation of affairs in certain localities:

"Whenever we object to the election of rebels to the principal offices of the country we are charged with a desire to perpetuate the enmities which grew out of the war. Is it only on condition that we will give them all the offices, that the rebels consent to be friends to our Government? If not, why raise such a silly excuse for giving the public interests into the hands of public enemies?"

The wealth and other substantial advantages conferred upon the South by the reconstruction measures of the Republican party, and the advantages yet in prospect, are too great to be hazarded by regarding any such sentiment as the above. The enmities which grew out of the war, were caused by the men who commenced the war. Until the opinions and habits engendered by the peculiar institution have ceased to exist, and men of acknowledged loyalty guide the affairs of the South, there cannot be peace. The least that can be expected is the subsidence of those who adhere to the old *regime*, while others, who have accepted the situation, are working for the common good. A time will come, and it is not far distant, when the loyal and true shall be recognized as alone worthy of public confidence; and the men who act the part of public enemies shall be passed by. The latter are the friends of the Democratic party, and are doing their worst to prolong the opposition to the creation of a healthful public sentiment. It may be remarked that the Republican party, in the execution of the trust reposed in it by the Nation, will do its utmost to protect Southern interests, and keep them out of the hands of men who have betrayed them, and who will betray them again, if they have the opportunity. And the same may be said of national interests, and of the occupants of public offices; they must not be enemies, but tried and approved friends of the people at large.

## REPUBLICAN RECRUITS.

Some of the newspapers in the South are taking a wide range of subjects, and looking abroad upon the world, they have discovered that there is ample room for the efforts of all disposed to work in the right direction. The *Norfolk Day-Book* urges many suggestions in regard to the duties of the leaders of the Republican party in Virginia. Among others, and with a view to recruit our strength, that journal says: "Let us seek recruits from the only source at our command, the whites; and in order to do this, we must show them that the road to promotion is open to them in our ranks. There are thousands of the best whites in the South constrained from entering our party because the line of promotion is barred against them. Let us unbar it and invite them to enter. Without them we can have no success, and the positions, one after another, are passing from our control. What say you, fellow-Republicans?"

We believe that there are many good and earnest men in the South who deplore the existing contentions, and who are anxious to do all in their power to bring about a better state of things. They realize the vast benefits which have already accrued from the reconstruction measures; and they heartily desire the ascendancy of the Republican party, that those measures may have full scope to accomplish the good designed. These men appreciate the new condition of affairs, recognize the blessings of free labor, and, on principle, regard the colored citizen as entitled to the rights and privileges secured to him under the Constitution. If they took part in the rebellion, they have accepted the situation: or, if they are citizens who have gone to the South from other States, their lot is cast there, and they wish to see the South prosperous and happy.

Citizens of this character cannot help being in sympathy with Republican principles and Republican effort. Moreover, they know that no other principles are suited to restore the South. The Democratic party is responsible for secession, and for the war which followed it. The rebel leaders, the deceived

by that party, still look to it and consider it as their natural ally. That party is, therefore, incapacitated by the eternal fitness of things to build up what it was willing should be destroyed. And did the men who influenced opinion in the South comprehend their duty, they could not fail to remark how unfitted the Democratic party is to help them.

The Republican party being the only party that can lift the South into the position it should occupy in the Union, and which has conferred blessings and benefits unknown to that people before, desires to have them cut loose from the past and rise to a higher plane of civilization. The Republican party opens its arms in welcome to all men who are willing to combine for the purpose of preventing the Democratic party from continuing to disturb and injure the South. The poor whites by education and elevation, have escaped the trammels of that party which oppressed while it used them. Others, either native or emigrant, understand that the aim of the Republican party is the welfare of the country, and of the South, as a part of it. It does not matter much what has been the hindrance in former times; if they will now keep step with the party, it will rejoice. There is a great deal for them to do, and a height to which they can rise by joining our ranks. Union is strength; and in the union of such men with us, no barrier can prevent their reaching the object of their ambition. There is no element existing in the South which can interfere with their progress, either socially or politically. Let it be understood everywhere that the Republican party invites co-operation; and all who feel disposed to labor for a common object will share in the common welfare.

THE city of New York has entered suit against the "Ring Thieves"—Tweed & Co.—for more than \$7,000,000. This represents only a fraction of the plunder stolen from the city by these Democratic leaders. Democracy has nearly reduced the city of New York to bankruptcy. Its debt now amounts to about \$160,000. This is the party that seeks to control the nation.

## INDEPENDENT TICKETS—POLITICAL MORALITY.

It speaks well for the intelligence and well-being of the country that there are men whose political morality is of a high order, and who labor diligently to erect and maintain a purer standard. As a class, they are conscientious and bold, not afraid to avow their opinions, and determined, above all things, not to tamper with their principles. They are, for the most part, reformers who seek to elevate the public, and in the direction of their hope, they may have conferred upon the people a great benefit, both from their precepts and example. Thus the advocates of temperance have done much good. They have rescued many from the influence of strong drink; they have sought out those who were about to fall and taken them by the hand; and they have strengthened weaker minds when fainting by the way and ready to yield to temptation.

All honor to the temperance cause, and to the good and kindly men who uphold it. But all philanthropists have to guard against an excess of zeal, which may tend to weaken by exaggeration and defeat for the want of forces which might be attracted to their side. Doubtless a large amount of crime is attributable to drink, and certainly a large amount of domestic unhappiness; but that the sorrows and crimes of humanity are to be traced alone to drink, is not established as a fact. And this brings us to the point. Granting that there is widespread suffering and evil in society, which may be reached and lessened by human effort, where, in all the history of politics, has there been a party with principles so fully in accord with the best sentiment of the age, as the Republican party? It cannot be denied that those principles have brought into the party the best men in the country—the wisest, the most philanthropic, the most desirous of doing good in their generation. If this be true of the Republican party, is it not the friend of the temperance cause? Can temperance men look to any other party to aid them? Will the Democracy? The Democratic party is too deeply allied to the vices of men to sanction a temperance reformation, or even to tolerate

the men whose devotion would produce it. And the third party of Independents, discontented and at variance among themselves, are too feeble to render help.

Now, this is precisely the condition of affairs with the temperance men, good and true men in a good sense; and yet they have nominated a third ticket in the State of Ohio to run against the Republican candidates in the field. Does this manifest a zeal accord-to knowledge? Is it the zeal of wisdom—the zeal of common sense? True philanthropy is not transcendental. It has to deal with the rough and rugged realities of life; and in such dealing it cannot succeed without outside help. The third resolution of the temperance platform makes the matter quite clear: "We invite all persons, whether total abstainers or not, who recognize the terrible injuries inflicted by the liquor traffic, to unite with us for its overthrow, and to secure thereby peace, order and the protection of persons and property." To secure peace, order, and the protection of persons and property, is a noble aim, but it is the distinct aim of the Republican party; and when the country shall obtain so great a blessing it will be found to be the work of Republicans. The Republican party is organizing to elect in Ohio a Republican Governor next fall, and a Republican President in 1876. What does wisdom suggest? Though temperance is a virtue—an ennobling one—temperance men know that as a party they cannot stand alone; that whenever they attempt it, they are sure of defeat; and they know that while their defeat has been assured, they have endangered the success of Republicans in consequence of the votes which would have been cast for them being practically thrown away in a cause, however estimable, that was predestined in its doom.

In this campaign, the issues of which are acknowledged to be so important, let the temperance men combine their strength with that of Republicans and work shoulder to shoulder to rescue the State of Ohio from Democratic rule. With all the divisions of Republicans healed; with a hearty frank-



ness of mind that will show that by-gones are by-gones, and that the men of Ohio are determined that the Republican party shall triumph, the State will be safe. This is all that will be needed. And the sorry exhibition of the Democrats of Ohio pretending to represent the men of worth and intelligence, but who were unfortunately permitted to represent them through Republican neglect, will be wiped out, and their place supplied by citizens who believe in public honor and honesty, and whose integrity will restore the State to its true position, with Governor Hayes at its head.

**ORGANIZE FOR VICTORY.**—We shall have talking enough during the political campaign which is about opening. Fine speeches, strong in argument, and powerful in rhetoric, will be delivered from the platform and stump. The charges of our opponents will be met, and refuted by an array of facts. The record of the Republican party will be spread before the people. Intelligent listeners will be convinced that a sense of duty to society, loyalty to the Union, and personal obligation to the cause of civilization and humanity calls upon them to adhere to the Republican party. This will be the province of speech making. The field is a broad and inviting one, and earnest laborers will be found to work therein.

But talking, alone, will not bring the victory we desire; organization, thorough and intelligent organization will. To establish this should be the object of every speech. Republican clubs should be started in every village and town in the country. They should be made attractive; both young and old should be invited to take part; frequent meetings should be held; prominent men should be invited to address them; in a word, they should be so organized and conducted as to weld together the loyal element of the community.

Unity of purpose and harmony of action should characterize these clubs. The preservation of the government and its control by those who have shown devotion to its interests, should be the bonds to unite the members. Local disputes should be avoided, and

all discussions on local issues, tending to divide the party, should be carefully excluded. The work in hand—the all important work—is to keep Democracy from gaining the control of the government. Intelligent Republicans, and thoughtful citizens, know what Democratic control means. Our opponents will try to divide our strength by encouraging the formation of third parties. Any movement in that direction should be frowned down as a device of the enemy.

Having formed these clubs, and got them in working order, a system of canvassing should be adopted, so that every voter inclined to support the Republican party shall be known, and relied upon, when the day of election comes.

Last fall a number of Congressional Districts were lost by a few votes while hundreds of sound ones remained uncast. This must be avoided next fall. Every willing vote, must be cast, and the only way to secure them is, to have the canvass so thorough, and the work so complete, that it will be impossible for apathy to again defeat us.

The Republican party has the numerical strength to hold the government by a large majority. It remains with Republicans to say whether the strength shall be brought to bear to save the nation from a great calamity. If our friends throughout the country will go to work, as if on a single vote depended the issue, we shall win a victory that will send a thrill of joy around the world.

According to Ex-Secretary McCulloch, the actual debt, adjusted and not adjusted, at the close of the war (1865), or rather at the disbanding of the Federal army, was not less than \$3,000,000,000. On the 1st of March last, it was \$2,187,315,989, the reduction in nine and a half years having been \$862,684,011, or at the rate of over \$90,000,000 per annum. Nothing like this, and nothing at all comparable to it, illustrates the financial history of any other nation. What better proof could be offered of the fidelity of the Republican party to the financial responsibilities which have been placed upon it, than this exhibit of what it has done to reduce the public debt. It should be borne in mind that this great reduction has been made in the face of a continued policy of reduced taxation.



## THE FALL ELECTIONS.

The accompanying tables will enable the reader to perceive at a glance the changes made, by the latest votes polled in the States that are to vote during the present year, over that of the total vote cast in 1872—the year of the last Presidential Election.

In the States wherein elections were held in 1874, Iowa and Ohio voted on State tickets for Secretary of State, and Kentucky for Clerk of Court of Appeals; Maryland for Congressmen, North Carolina for Superintendent of Public Instruction, Pennsylvania for Lieutenant Governor, and Minnesota for Chief Justice. Maine, Kansas, New York and New Jersey voted on full State tickets.

It will be noticed in Table I. that there are great changes in Maryland and Kentucky, between the majorities of 1872 and those of 1874. This change is in the main due to a large degree of dissatisfaction existing in 1872, among Democrats therein, at the nomination of Mr. Greeley.

It is easy to understand the cause of some changes at the last election, which may appear surprising without a knowledge of the situation in the several States. Take Massachusetts for instance. Governor Gaston's election was undoubtedly due to the activity of the liquor interest in his behalf, as well as to the fact that he was probably the most unobjectionable and popular man of his party in that State. He was sent to the Executive chair, handicapped by a Republican Lieutenant Governor, Council and Legislature. In New York, many causes tended to bring about the change, which resulted in placing that State in the hands of the Democracy,—temporarily it is hoped and believed. The scandalous stories, as well as the prejudices aroused by the absurd "third term" and "Cæsarism" follies, had direct effect, but the chief cause was in the abstention from the polls of at least 45,000 Republican votes, and the presence of a Temperance ticket which polled 11,762 votes, nearly all of which would otherwise have been cast for the Republican nominee.

The votes of Ohio in the years indicated, show conclusively that the result in 1874 was not obtained by Democratic gains, for their total fell over four thousand behind what the

party cast in 1872, but by reason of Republican lukewarmness, dissatisfaction and abstentions, and that too, in face of the fact that a good proportion of the German American votes was believed to be cast for the Democratic nominee, besides the throwing away of 2,045 votes on a temperance candidate. The Republican vote of '74 is 60,646 less than in '72. The Democratic vote is 5,907 less, deducting the temperance vote. The total direct decrease of the Ohio opposition vote in 1874, compared with the same vote in 1872 was 3,862. So it is evident that a total of 64,518 votes did not go to the polls at all last year. The vote for Governor in 1873 affords some instructive lessons. William Allen was elected by the minimum Democratic vote cast in six years. The Republican vote was also its minimum for the same period. Thurman ran for Governor in 1867, and was defeated, receiving 26,000 more than his uncle, the present Executive. The maximum vote of both parties during the period named was cast in 1872. The Democrats ran from 214,654 up to 244,321. The Republicans have ranged from 213,837 to 281,852—a difference of 68,015 for them and of 29,667 in the opposite party. These figures show the reserves of both parties and are very encouraging to Republicans. A full vote will elect Hayes by at least 30,000 majority.

In Pennsylvania, the decrease of the Republican vote last year, as compared with '72, was 77,073. The increase of the Democratic vote was 65,154. The decrease of the total vote was but 7,270. There was a temperance vote of 4,549, which will probably be cast at the coming election in the same direction.

It will be seen by further examination of the following tables, that the defeats of last year were not the result of Democratic gains, but of Republican abstentions. The total decrease in twelve of the fourteen States that vote on State tickets during the present year amounts to 369,763 votes; the increase in the same States of the opposition votes being 275,629, leaving an excess of 85,934 stay-at-home Republicans. The excess is really greater, for when the increased vote in Maryland and Kentucky, 14,537, is added it will be over 100,000, or nearly two-fifths more than the total opposition vote.

## TABULAR STATEMENT OF VOTES—No. I.

STATES in which Elections will be held during the present year.	VOTE OF 1872.			VOTE OF 1873.			CHANGE OF VOTES, 1874.	
	MAJORITIES.			MAJORITIES.			INCREASE. Opposition.	DECREASE. Republican.
	Republican.	Opposition.		Republican.	Opposition.			
California.....	54,020	40,718	No vote in 1874.	No vote in 1874.	34,671	964	24,735	
Iowa.....	131,566	71,196	106,831	72,160	10,895 <i>i</i>	4,729	10,224	
Kansas.....	67,048	32,970	48,824	37,699 <i>i</i>	60,844	14,353	35,262	
Kentucky.....	88,766	99,995	53,504	114,948	11,397	12,647	8,529	
Maine.....	61,422	29,087	53,131	41,734	14,326	184†	13,381	
Maryland.....	66,760	67,687	53,379	67,503	7,292 <i>ii</i>	31,386	43,628	
Massachusetts.....	133,472	59,260	89,844	96,646 <i>ii</i>	No election in 1873 or 1874.	7,688	3,021	
Mississippi.....	82,175	47,288	51,996	42,111	9,885	20,827	7,600	
Minnesota.....	55,117	34,423	84,050	97,283	13,233	40,878	74,662	
New Jersey.....	91,650	76,456	366,074	428,159 <i>iii</i>	62,085	19,247 <i>iv</i>	60,648	
New York.....	440,736	387,281	221,204	240,451 <i>v</i>	10,628 <i>v</i>	69,803	77,073	
Ohio.....	281,852	244,321	272,516	281,844 <i>v</i>	47,731†	33,454§	33,454§	
Pennsylvania.....	349,589	212,041	52,253†	99,984	.....	250,476	380,763	
*Texas.....	47,406	66,500	.....	.....	.....	4,847	.....	
Less increased Republican vote in Texas.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	275,629	.....	
Total increase.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Elections for Delegates to Constitutional Conventions.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Alabama.....	94,769	70,094	93,928	107,118	.....	.....	.....	
North Carolina.....	90,272	79,444	84,181	98,217	.....	.....	.....	
*Texas.....	Vote given above.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	

† This vote refers to the election of Governor in 1873. Kansas shows an opposition vote—for Democratic Reform candidate, 35,201; Independent and scattering votes, 2,398; Republican majority over regular opposition 13,201.

‡ Massachusetts elected a Democratic Governor and a Republican Legislature, &c. Gaston's vote was 93,376; scattering, 270, making Governor's majority over all, 6,862; over regular Republican nominee, 7,032.

§ In New York 11,765 temperance votes were cast for Governor. Tilden's majority over all was 38,549; over Dix, 50,317. United opposition majority, as in the table.

|| Ohio gave 2,045 temperance votes Democratic majority over all was 17,202; united opposition to Republicans, as above.

¶ For details of temperance votes. The opposition over all is as above. The Democratic majority, 3,679, increased to 4,847 in 1874.

‡ The vote of Texas indicates for 1873 both a Republican and Democratic gain over that of the preceding year. The total vote was increased 38,321.

TABLE No. II.

STATES.	TOTAL VOTE.		DECREASE INCREASE	
	1872.	1874.	1874.	1874.
California.....	95,738	No vote.	.....	.....
Iowa.....	202,762	1,8991	23,771	.....
Kansas.....	100,018	86,523	13,195	.....
Kentucky.....	188,61	168,972	19,79d	.....
Maine.....	90,509	91,865	.....	4,356
Maryland.....	134,447	120,882	13,565d	.....
Massachusetts.....	192,732	186,910	6,242	.....
Mississippi.....	129,463	No vote.	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	89,540	94,107	.....	4,567
New Jersey.....	168,106	181,333	.....	13,227
New York.....	838,007	791,233	43,774	.....
Ohio.....	526,173	461,655	64,518	.....
Pennsylvania.....	561,630	554,361	7,270	.....
Texas*.....	113,906	152,237†	.....	38,331
<i>Delegate Elections.</i>				
Alabama.....	164,863	211,046	.....	46,183
North Carolina.....	169,716	182,398	.....	12,682
Texas*.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	3,768,371	3,468,092	192,844	89,346

Majority cast in 1872, over 1874, 300,279.

† Vote of 1873.

(d) To indicate the decrease of total vote in Democratic States.

The aspects of the present campaign are, at this outlook, quite encouraging. This feeling is attributable to the heartiness with which Republicans everywhere are entering on the heavy work of reorganization, which is upon and before them. Every one seems determined to do their best. More than all else, there is a full realization of the greatness of the stakes at issue, and a wise determination is manifested to deserve victory by endeavoring to win it. The figures given in the foregoing tables are conclusive as to the ability of the Republican party to again march to the van of political progress and triumph.

## OHIO

is looked upon with the greatest interest. The Democracy are encumbered with Bourbonism of the worst character. Open coquetry with the organized hostility to the public school system, which is expressed by the Romish hierarchy, has aroused a vigorous distrust and active fear that is sure to be felt at the polls in October. There is also a fierce family quarrel going on in their own

camp. Out of the State, the leading Democratic press denounces the "Confederacy-currency" planks of their platform with almost bitter unanimity; while inside the State its adoption is well understood to be a piece of shrewd strategy on the part of Mr. Pendleton's friends, whereby it is hoped to push Allen overboard and destroy Thurman's usefulness, removing both from the path of Pendleton's Presidential aspirations. Its results will be to wreck all their illusions. In the meanwhile the Republicans are heartily and unitedly at work. The Germans are returning to the standard, and the leaders of the "Liberal" and "Revenue Reform" agitations—they cannot be termed parties—are openly accepting and working for the Republican nominees. There is work to be done, and a great deal of it. The best evidence of its prospective accomplishment is the spirit in which all parties are entering the lists.

## PENNSYLVANIA

is considered secure for Gov. Hartranft's reelection, by hard work and vigorous exer-

tions. The opposition are building on disaffection among the miners in the anthracite region. The best information that comes to hand shows very little ground for this hope, as the larger portion of the Republican vote therein is located in the Lackawana basin, among the Welsh miners, who have been but little affected by the strike and the movements of the State authorities consequent thereon, and who, moreover, are not in the habit of changing settled convictions because of local disorders growing out of conditions not affected by the present policies of the great parties now in existence. The Welsh miners throughout the coal region, and the major portion of the American voters will, as heretofore, vote the Republican ticket. As to the Irish-Americans therein, it is a well known fact that the Democratic hold on them is greatly weakened, and whatever may be the probable changes pending in their ranks, they are not likely to result to the advantage of that portion of the opposition. Elsewhere in Pennsylvania, as there, Republican prospects are fair and improving. The apparently large increase last year of the Democratic vote is due to their dissatisfaction in 1872, with the nomination of Horace Greeley.

#### MASSACHUSETTS AND MAINE

will both be as they were in 1872. There can be no doubt but that the Republicans will this year elect their Governor in the Bay State. The party will go to the polls without the internal dissensions which have recently seriously affected its morale. The friends of Gen. Butler and Judge Hoar, as well as those gentlemen themselves, will be found united in the State Convention, and before the people. The prohibitionists themselves are content to let the new license law have a fair trial, and there is no probability of any Labor Reform movement. So the issue will be clear. Popular as Gov. Gaston is, of the result there can be no doubt. Of Maine, no fears have been entertained. Gen. Conner, the Republican nominee for Governor, is a young, brilliant and gallant gentleman, of decided ability and great popularity.

#### MINNESOTA

Republicans have closed their ranks again,

and disputes over nominations are not likely to be serious in character. This, with the general revival of earnest effort, ensures a victory in the northwest.

#### IOWA AND KANSAS

are both sure for the party of national advancement. In the first named State, Gov. Kirkwood's name will rouse the old-time enthusiasm, and the State will give nearly or quite its Presidential majority for that well-tried Republican. In Kansas no fears are entertained, the only effort needed being to get out a full vote.

#### CALIFORNIA

presents an interesting situation. Under old and time-tried leaders, the Republicans have put an excellent ticket in the field, on a platform which must command the support of the producing classes of that great State. Its declarations on the railroad question are in accordance with an unbroken line of decisions rendered by our highest tribunal—the United States Supreme Court, from Chief Justice Marshall down to the present day. Its declaration of the right of the State to exercise legislative supervision over corporations itself has created, is not in antagonism to threaten larger declaration relating to national right of control over commerce by land and sea.

In no way impinging upon property rights, or unduly seeking to control the business of the great corporations, the Republican party in effect, declares them to be public trusts, whose right administration is essential to the well-being of the whole community, and that therefore they are subject to the organized sovereignty and must submit to lawful regulations and supervision. The Republican ticket harmonizes with these declarations. That fact is evident from the hostility exhibited towards the ticket by the railroad magnates.

Two other tickets are in the field—one known as Independent, and the other being the regular Democratic nomination. The convention that put the latter before the people seems to have been a tame affair, and the platform consists of even more than ordinarily dull platitudes. The Independent nominees are in remarkable contrast to the

wordy declarations of their long-winded and motley platform. Its "whereas" and "resolutions" would have done credit to social science, sanitary, cheap transportation, and municipal and labor reform associations, with a touch of the "Commune," but there is scarcely a grain of sound political sense through the whole. Only one utterance commends itself, and that was the declaration that the issues being local and circumscribed, are not to be regarded as controlling action on national politics. One has to thank these wiseacres for nothing after all, as it appears that this declaration was made as a dodge and was not intended as a verity.

The value of all such platforms as that of the California "Independents," is most correctly tested by the candidates they put forward. Their nominee for Governor is the Hon. John Bidwell, formerly Representative in Congress. He sought a nomination from the Republicans and failed. Mr. Bidwell is a champion land monopolist in the Golden State. He is a farmer, as are the Dukes of Sutherland, Argyle, or Bedford, who disposes the people of whole counties to make sheep farms and deer parks. His rancho is founded on a Spanish grant, the area of which is that of a small principality. In Congress he was a foremost defender of "land grabbing," and succeeded in carrying through the notorious "Soscol Rancho" job, by which some hundreds of families were dispossessed and their improvements added to the swollen list of his plethoric possessions. Mr. Bidwell has been a vigorous organizer and supporter of the Chinese labor system, by which Mongolians are practically brought to California as "peons" or debt-laborers. Ranchemen, like Bidwell, who don't want to divide their lands by selling out to small farmers, have encouraged such odious results in order to have dependent labor at their will, instead of welcoming the growth of a yeomanry that will themselves cultivate the land they purchase by their own toil. Mr. Bidwell represents in California the same class of men, who in the South desire to supplement slavery by civic serfdom, and believe the highest good to them is obtained through controlling labor."

The nominee for Lieutenant-Governor, Governor Pacheco, also sought a re-nomina-

tion from the Republicans and failed because it was known that he was a "railroad man." Ex-Governor Stanford, president of the Central Pacific railroad, said, in a published interview, that his "preferences were for either Shafter or Pacheco. Both are good men, and I considered them both strong men before the people."

These nominations "point the moral and adorn the tale," taught and recited in the California Independent movement.

#### IN THE SOUTH

there will be much of interest developed by the fall elections. Mississippi will be an excellent opportunity for testing the sincerity of the much talked of "reconciliation" sentiment. There is an old adage which still retains lessons worthy consideration; it runs thus: "First pure, then peaceable." The "color-line" politicians are unmistakably rampant as yet, in that State, and many well informed persons believe there will be a repetition of former outrages and intimidation. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof," and Republicans will learn more and more conclusively that the evil spirit of slavery is not quenched or laid at rest, in a few years. There will be wild and senseless outbursts of impotent anger—passion that in its mouthings recalls the Scriptural eunuch that "lusteth" and was not satisfied—such anger as so recently foamed in polished sentences of satanic eloquence from the lips of John S. Preston, of South Carolina, who "orated" to the youth of the "Old Dominion" at the recent commencement exercises of the University of Virginia. "General" Preston declared that the men of Virginia, who had so large a part in the organization of this Government and Union,

"Were grandly inspired architects. They completed an edifice dedicated to civil freedom and free conscience, whose foundation was a continent, whose boundaries were boundless seas, and whose turrets aspired to heaven to catch the light and blessing from a God of Truth."

They were the "royal priesthood;" the University is a "saintly and benignant nurse mother." Robert E. Lee is referred to as the "high priest of that hierarchy," and the present generation are praised as those who have

"renewed all that covenant by sprinkling that altar with their blood"—as men "who have hazarded" their lives in defense of truth. These patriots, so hyperbolically referred to, are held aloft as the only defenders of English constitutional liberty, while the founders of New England are derided, as coming,

"Not as refugees from unlawful persecution and tyranny, but as escaped convicts from the just penalties of a turbulent heresy and an ambitious rebellion, which sought by violence to enforce their consciences on England's law. Instead, therefore, of bringing the laws and usages growing out of the charters of English liberty, they brought only crude and shallow systems of theological, philosophical and political fictions, scarcely above the vain babblings of mediæval speculations, mingled with the poisons of licentious fanaticism, establishing upon them municipal forms of mere superficial restraint and flimsy systems of educational training, calculated to perpetuate ignorance and substitute individual craft for public virtue."

The men of New England, in the view of this lofty minded scion of slave oligarchy "could have no inborn reverence" for the great Southern lights of the Revolution and the early following decades. "The Mayflower's freight, under the laws of England, was heresy and crime." The Jamestown emigrant

"Was an English freeman, loyal to his country and his God, with England's honor in his heart and English piety in his soul, and carrying in his right hand the charters, usages and laws which were achieving the regeneration of England."

After this outburst, it is fitly added that

"Not space, or time, or the convenience of any human law, or the power of any human arm can reconcile institutions for the turbulent fanatic of Plymouth Rock and the God-fearing Christian of Jamestown. You may assign them to the closest territorial proximity, with all the forms, modes, and shows of civilization; but you can never cement them into the bonds of brotherhood."

So the brilliant orator proceeds in language lurid in its baleful eloquence to teach the lessons of sectional hatreds to young men who have not yet left the college campus. We are told, *ad nauseum*, of the

"Tremendous warfare with its surging waves rolling wide and wasteful over a continent, frightening the trembling earth and steeping it in blood, over which fanaticism and avarice raged with demoniac fury, and patriotism shrank from the prostrate form of liberty."

The special object of all these terrific adjectives is the denunciation of the North and of the objects for which in explosive utterances "General" Preston asserts it fought.

It is clearly stated, and no Republican will deny or apologise for the fact that he so fiercely questions, and replies:

"What was the plea of the invader, the conqueror and the destroyer? Union and emancipation, integrity of territory and freedom and citizenship for our slaves, the African negro. If there be any other plea, motive, impulse, or apology, it was not declared in the open arena."

Nor is it necessary to enter any "other plea, motive, impulse or apology," and that fact is what is the matter with "General" Preston.

These quotations have been made here for the purpose of pointing out the continued existence of encouragement of the spirit alluded to in connection with Mississippi, and the possibilities that may attend the fall election there. In addition to the State and Congressional election in that State, Alabama, Texas, and North Carolina will elect delegates to Constitutional conventions which have been called therein, for the purpose of undertaking the work of "Democratic Reconstruction." The result will bear close watching.

In Kentucky the contest for Governor is closely fought, and the Republican nominee, General Harlan, is acknowledged to be winning new adherents daily. He is acknowledged to be much abler than his opponent, whose friends are now compelled to appeal not to his fitness for the position, but to that love of party which is a cardinal virtue of the Democracy. There is a large body of voters—formerly Whigs and Unionists—who are beginning to see that emancipation and enfranchisement have not hurt them or in any way injured the Union temple. Gen. Harlan is a growing favorite with them, and Republican prospects are brightening daily.



"THE BLUE AND THE GRAY:"—THE BASIS OF THE UNION.

The Memphis *Daily Appeal* introduces its report of the proceedings on Memorial Day with the following remarkable head-lines:—"The graves of the Federal and Confederate dead, alike decorated with wreaths and immortelles. Distinguished public men confirm the popular will that the chasm must remain closed forever. No more sectional strife or dissension. We will live and labor for the Union, its integrity and prosperity." Among the occupants of seats upon the speaker's stand, appear the names of "*Ex-Pres't* Jeff. Davis," Gen. N. B. Forrest, Ex-Gov. I. G. Harris, Hon. Jacob Thompson; and the report is prefaced with the following words: "*The curtain is down, the lgh's are out, the play is over*"—words, we believe, purposely chosen to represent the sentiment entertained—the *play is over*—THE FARCE IS DONE!

This view of ours is based upon the proceedings of the day, as reported in the *Appeal*—the spirit of the poetry and the prose—the poem recited, and the speech of the Confederate orator; and, that there may be no mistake or misunderstanding, we shall allow the poet and the orator to speak for themselves.

Gen. Forrest, as one of the masters of the ceremonies, bravely performed his duties, which, we presume, were of a more congenial nature than when he wore the gray, in the month of November, 1864, and sent out a rumor that he would make a raid on the same city of Memphis. The writer was there, and saw the non-combatants—old men, women and little children, preparing to flee in the opposite direction to that to be taken by Gen. Forrest. Gen. Forrest was courageous, but his humanity was so well known and appreciated that it is impossible to tell who loved him. This warrior, however, introduced a small, unsuspecting child, one Master Lee Merriwether, to recite "*The Blue and the Gray*"—one verse of which sounds strangely to our ears:

"Then let us gather the sacred dust  
Of our warriors, tried and true,  
Who bore the flag of our nation's trust,  
And felt in the cause though lost, still just,  
And died for me and you."

The little boy doubtless thought he was very patriotic; but he was followed by a great Confederate orator, who was anxious to be identified with the Blue, and be regarded as a loyal citizen, whose claims the nation should recognize—because he wore the Gray, which represents a cause so dear to his heart that the especial wonder of the Confederacy was, how it was lost. The Universe is defective. The "lost cause" is not there. Yet Gen. Luke E. Wright—introduced by the gentle Isham G. Harris—bowed as he aimed to support the infant reciter of rebel poetry, and impress the North with his intense desire to be loyal to the Union. Mr. Wright had also been a warrior, but he did not resemble the heathen demi-god, Yung How, who had a voice like thunder, and a temper like a galloping horse. Gen. Wright was indeed mild, persuasive, of silvery eloquence, so quiet in manner and with such a deprecating air as to offer a continued apology for his existence; yet he maintained to the end of his discourse that the South was right in what it did, and that the North does wrong to remember and condemn the South. He said:

"It is well to do honor to the ashes of those fallen braves who, through years of conflict and danger held aloft the banner of the South. In deifying the memory of those who have pitched their tents upon yonder hillside in this city of the dead—in wreathing chaplets for their humble resting place, we but acknowledge a sentiment which has found lodgment in the hearts of six million of people. We come not to perform an imposing ceremonial, merely to express admiration for the lives and deeds of men who, in the assertion of principle, died upon the field of honor, but we come with wreaths of flowers—the rose and immortelle—to strew their graves and water them with our tender tears. We come to bury our dead afresh. \* \* \* Ours is a personal as well as a national sorrow. \* \* \* It is not for me to attempt the portrayal of all their glorious deeds, the fatigues and hardships they endured, the victories they won, the bloody defeats they experienced, and the equanimity with which they met them all. To one who was a participant, however humble, in the events of those sombre days, such a labor is impossible. \* \* \* The task of narrating the events of the late war, from a Southern standpoint, is yet to be perform-

ed." The time, however, is fast approaching when the man will arise to accomplish a duty which the world demands. The baleful fires of hate, misrepresentation and malice, engendered by the strife, are almost burned out, and from their ashes may be sifted truths for history. Our people have no cause to regret that this time is near at hand. That many wrongs and follies have been committed by both sides is doubtless true, but the men of the South who inaugurated and conducted this internecine quarrel will be shown to have been recreant or dishonored—Never! When the truth does appear, the people of the entire North will, as her soldiers do now, concede the same patriotism, the same love of constitutional liberty, to their former opponents which they claim for themselves. \* \* \* The right of secession, whilst not dangerous to the integrity of the Union in the abstract, became vitalized by the crusade made against the Southern institution of slavery. \* \* \* We of the South, who claimed and believed there was a violation of the original compact between the States, on the part of the North, asserted the right of self-government as an independent Confederacy. In the attempt to enforce that right at the point of the bayonet, we were unsuccessful simply. "The very head and front of our offending hath this extent, no more." \* \* \* The men who clung with more than a Spartan heroism to their cause, through defeat and disaster, who suffered every privation incident to their impoverished and isolated position, not only with a sustained cheerfulness, but with actual gaiety and abandon, and who at last yielded only to the stern logic of overwhelming numbers, are not of those who, conspiring against good government, seeking to establish the tyranny of misrule and license, cower beneath the lashings of conscience, and quake with the fear conjured up by their guilty spirits. In no sense of the word were they traitors—in every sense they were true and loyal to their States, ancestry and traditions. Whatever may be the cold definition prescribed by legal codes, all ingenious men will agree with me that he only is a traitor who peridiously betrays a trust or a country. It is the motive, the moral quality of the act, rather than the act itself, which stamps its nature. \* \* \* What son of the North, enemy though he may have been, who has stood beside the grave of a Lee, a Johnston, or a Jackson, but has felt pride in remembering they were of the same race and nationality as himself? Who that has recalled their lives but has felt within him a nobler flame of devotion to principle, a higher perception of duty, a sterner resolve to suffer, and, if need be, to die for the right? \* \* \* These remarks are made in no spirit of bitterness or resentment, with no intention or desire of reopening those vexed and unprof-

itable issues over which have rolled the red waves of war. On the contrary their only object is to vindicate the motives and memories of the men of the South, living and dead, who lost all save honor, in an irretrievable defeat. Much as we need and desire a cessation of all bitterness, and a restoration of kindly relations, we cannot afford it at the expense of self-respect; we cannot admit to our children and posterity that we were a rebellious crew of malecontents, prepared to rule or ruin. \* \* \* The soldiers in Blue have on many a fatal day met the men in Gray, face to face, and looked into their eyes long enough to see depicted there manly resolution and devoted courage, but naught that savored of treachery or dishonor. The best guaranty they can offer of their sincere desire for harmony is the constancy with which they adhered to a failing cause—the heroism with which they clung to the battle-torn flag of their confederacy when all hope had fled! This sentiment, so long repressed, is at last finding voice, and with no uncertain sound proclaims that the States of the South shall have the opportunity, so long desired, of re-establishing friendly relations with those of the North—that they shall be welcomed into the noble sisterhood of the Union, not as traitorous and conquered provinces, but as equals. A few men of influence with their countrymen of the North, of enlarged views and patriotic impulses, years since realized that the so-called Union, in its then condition, was a broken circle, and that the States of the South were necessary to a full restoration of that glorious galaxy that bedecked the nation's flag in the better days of the Republic. With peculiar magnanimity, and an eye single to the glory of the *whole* country, they advocated universal amnesty for all past offenses, and invoked the people of both sections to bury all past differences in a common grave. Their words and acts have taken deep root in the minds of both the North and South, and bear glorious fruit in the evidences of an universal fraternization all along the line. \* \* \* May we not venture the assertion, then, from recent manifestations everywhere on the part of the people, both North and South, that what seemed to us the destruction of every hope in the downfall of the Confederacy, and the death of her truest and bravest sons, may yet redound to the honor and glory of our common country? If, by the pouring out of their blood they have watered the tree of liberty, and by a contemplation of their virtues have inspired in the breasts of both North and South a truer feeling of respect for each other, and greater regard for the blessings of peace under the constitutional government of our fathers, then their death has not been in vain. \* \* \* It tells mankind that the Republic is not a failure—that like a young

giant struggling in the toils, it has shaken from its limbs all impediments, and stands forth to begin afresh the race in the lists of civilization and of progress. In that race let us not be left behind. We have much to do. In the building up of our decayed industries, in the fostering and enlargement of our commerce and manufactories, in the advancement of the arts and sciences, in the education and elevation of the masses, will be found work for every hand."

It will be observed that in all the grandiloquence poured out on this and on recent occasions, in which the South has claimed recognition of the North, on account of its present loyalty to the Union, that there is an under current of sentiment which points to the white men alone as being interested in the movement. "We but acknowledge a sentiment which has found lodgment in the hearts of six million people," said Gen. Wright. The negro race, numbering four millions, is altogether ignored, although there must be upwards of 800,000 colored men entitled to the ballot. No mention is made of their education; of the measures adopted for the peaceful exercise of their rights as citizens; no indication is given that the future, in regard to them, will be different from the past. Mysterious allusion is made to national sorrow for the Southern dead—to liberty—constitutional liberty—to confederate blood having watered the tree of liberty—have no force, unless every citizen under the Constitution of the Union is protected while discharging the duties of citizenship, and is permitted to earn an honest living for himself and family by his daily labor.

The South commits a great blunder, when it supposes the loyal North do not understand that their attempt to destroy the Union was treason of the rankest kind. The people of the North, however, are willing to bridge the bloody chasm, if the South will act justly and obey the law. Never, under the old institutions, was the condition of the South so prosperous and the avenues for wealth so many and so certain. But the war wrought a change which cannot be resisted; and until that change is recognized, is accepted in sober truth, there will always be danger and discord. If the prominent southerners really mean what they say about a reconciliation and fraternal spirit prevailing

all over the Union, they have it in their power to help it. Let them live in obedience to the Constitution; and whether they regret the past or not, they may rest assured that history will deal justly with the rebellion of the Confederate States.

No language of ours is strong enough to express our disapprobation of the introductory statement of the report we quote in the *Memphis Appeal*: "*The curtain is down, the lights are out, the play is over.*" Was the whole affair—strewing the graves of the dead with flowers—the poem—the oration—a theatrical display, to draw forth the applause of the audience who understand the fond illusion, and did not go away disappointed? We are sorry to see the same thought reappear in another locality in the South, where the histrionic reference is made to apply to the presence of the confederate officers at the centennial proceedings at Bunker's Hill. The *Richmond Dispatch* says that "Boston may be considered the head and front of the alienation of the North—the hot bed of those opinions and sentiments that were at war with Southern notions and feelings, and the renewal of brotherly feeling and the avowal of reciprocal pledges between her people and ours have a significance and potency with like demonstrations." These words seem to reflect a very proper condition of mind—a mind returning to loyalty from which it had severed. But what shall we say to the following lines which are to be found in the same article:—

"*The Government has changed the play, and the dresses and decorations, and stage machinery which were employed in the odious drama at Washington; for the intermediate years of sadness have been almost entirely laid aside as 'cast off,' never we hope to be donned again.*"

Bah! there is such a thing as national justice, based upon a national conscience, and the people of the South will discover that the people of the North were never less disposed to take part in a farce if they know it. They desire to be kind and conciliatory in word and deed, when they see a proper spirit manifested by the leaders of the South. But they never were more in earnest that the great object for which the war was fought shall be accomplished, and will never cease to direct their labors specifically to that end.

The light of experience does not flicker with an uncertain radiance. They have learned many lessons—among them the eternal distinction between right and wrong has been burned into their hearts. True patriotism at this day, is of no doubtful import. It has not a double meaning—a different meaning North and South. Children in the North and South must use it in the same sense, and employ the same illustrations. The soldiers and the people who defended and loved the Union, cannot be misled upon the subject. They would not seek for the sun in the darkness of a starless midnight. Nor could they derive patriotic inspiration from the graves of Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and other officers of the Rebellion. These and others were educated by the nation to defend her. Instead of that they stabbed her in the bosom,

and fought for her destruction, using the knowledge she gave them for the purpose. No! inspiration must come from those who died that the nation might live, and that the Union may be lasting and free and prosperous, the sentiments that induced the men of the South to engage in the fratricidal strife must be rendered odious and be blotted out, and a new career be entered upon, whose fruit shall be peace and justice, practical freedom and fraternity in political effort, and the equality of all men before the law. Then the bond of union will be perpetuated by the might of right; and the sentimental glory of the galaxy of States, with wrong continued, so often spoken of, will fade away like a nightmare in the health and glow of a real restoration, which shall enhance the grandeur and stability of the Great Republic.

## TAXES: WHO PAYS THEM?

"We are more heavily taxed by our idleness, pride and folly, than we are taxed by Government."—*Franklin*

Even among intelligent men, who, on almost all other public questions are pretty well informed, there is no little misconception on the subjects of Taxes and Tariffs, the two main sources of the Federal revenues.

Omitting for the present farther reference to tariffs, the writer will endeavor to present the system of Federal taxation so that it may meet the comprehension of every intelligent reader.

The charge is often made by those who wish to misrepresent the General Government, and render the Administration unpopular, that the people are burdened and oppressed by Federal taxation. Confiding farmers and others who believe political speakers and writers are as honest as themselves, accept these statements as true, and become prejudiced against the party in power. Now, if the facts were examined and the subject of taxation presented in its true bearing upon society, those very men would be among the first to admire the simplicity and justice of the present system of Federal taxation and give it their support. But to the subject, and first —

### WHAT IS A TAX, AND WHY IS IT NEEDED?

A tax is an assessment for a specific amount made upon property for a specific purpose, under Federal or State authority; or, it may be a tax on incomes or annual earnings, or a personal or poll-tax on each adult citizen.

Each State adopts its own mode of taxation, and the State tax is always distinct from the Federal tax. The State may raise its necessary revenue from a tax on real estate alone, but the usual mode is to make up the requisite amount by an assessment on personal property as well as on real estate, to which is added usually a personal or poll-tax on each male adult, of one, and sometimes two dollars per annum.

The Federal Government pursues a different policy. The main source of its revenues is the tariff on imported goods. But in extraordinary cases, of which the late rebellion affords an example, personal property and incomes are taxed to meet a specific emergency. But Internal revenue taxes are always dropped with the removal of the cause for their collection.

A revenue is required by the Federal Government to meet the demands on the United

States Treasury for the annual interest on the public debt, the expenses of the army and navy, the payment of pensions, Indian, and other ordinary expenditures, the whole amounting to about \$275,000,000 per annum.

State, country, and municipal taxes, over which the Federal Government exercises no control, provide revenues from which the ordinary expenditures for legislation, schools, roads, State public improvement, and other State, county or municipal expenses are paid. In recent years many of the States have allowed their ordinary public expenditures to increase much more rapidly than the increase of population and wealth. This has resulted in a corresponding increase of taxation, a condition of affairs that should always be avoided. It can now be overcome only by rigid economy in the public expenditures and submission to a pretty severe tax until the State, county and municipal indebtedness is liquidated. Other States have been scrupulously careful, and have not allowed their expenditures to exceed their revenues, except to a limited extent, to be overcome in the following year or two. These States are out of debt—some of them entirely so—and they are generally prosperous.

With these remarks on the general subject of taxes and revenues, the attention of the reader will now be directed more particularly to the present

#### POLICY AND SCOPE OF FEDERAL TAXATION.

The policy of the administration is to derive the largest portion of the necessary revenues from the tariff on imported goods. The estimates for the fiscal year which commenced June 30, 1875, were made on the following basis:

From customs.....	\$170,000,000
From Internal revenue.....	106,000,000
From other sources.....	17,000,000
Total estimates.....	\$293,000,000

It is believed now, by experienced officials, judging from the improving condition of the country and the weekly increase of receipts since the estimates were made, that the internal revenue receipts for the current year will reach \$120,000,000 or over. Of this, nearly

\$100,000,000 will be derived from spirits, beer, and tobacco in their various forms. The balance comes from the tax on patent medicines, perfumery, matches and banking capital. These are the only articles subject to a Federal tax. And as showing what the Republican party has accomplished in the way of decreasing the taxes caused by the Democratic rebellion, it may be stated that while the Internal revenue receipts, for the fiscal year just closed, amounted to \$109,500,000 and those for the current year will be about the same, the internal revenues for 1866 amounted to *three hundred and nine million, two hundred and twenty-six thousand, eight hundred and thirteen dollars and forty-two cents*, exclusive of a direct income tax, collected during the same year, amounting to \$1,947,754.12.

Keeping in view the fact that only about half a dozen different articles are now subject to a tax, it will be interesting to note briefly the sources whence the enormous tax of previous years was derived. From March, 1865, to July, 1866, during which period internal revenue taxation was at its greatest height, all manufactures of every description, with a few unimportant exceptions specially exempted, were subject to a tax. A tax was also imposed on all slaughtered cattle, sheep and swine; on the gross receipts of advertisements, lotteries, theatres, operas, circuses, &c.; of express, insurance and telegraph companies; of canals, steamboats, ships, barges, stage coaches, railroads, &c.; on dealers' sales, auction sales, and brokers' sales of merchandise, stocks, bonds, foreign exchange, gold and silver bullion and coin; on billiard tables, carriages, piano-fortes, gold watches, yachts, gold and silver plate, articles of luxury kept for use; on bank capital, circulation and deposits; on passports, legacies and successions; on dividends and additions to surplus of banks, railroad, canal, turnpike and insurance companies; on salaries of United States officers and employés; on the annual income of all persons, in excess of \$600 per annum; on legal instruments, such as deeds, bonds, mortgages, &c.; on proprietary medicines, perfumeries and cosmetics; and on friction matches and playing cards. All persons engaged as auc-

tioners, brokers, dealers, peddlers, manufacturers, lawyers, physicians, &c., were required to pay a special tax for carrying on their business, trade, or profession—in short, nearly every available source was made to contribute to the necessities of the Government.

#### ANNUAL RECEIPTS FROM INTERNAL REVENUE AND INCOME TAXES.

The first revenues derived from the tax on incomes were collected during the fiscal year 1862, and in the following year from the tax on property, &c. The Income tax has ceased altogether, under act of Congress, and the Internal revenue taxes have been reduced about two-thirds below their maximum in 1866. The following official tables show the net receipts for each year:

	Internal Revenue.	Direct Tax.
1862 .....		\$1,795,331.73
1863 .....	\$37,640,787.95	1,485,103.61
1864 .....	109,741,134.10	475,648.96
1865 .....	209,464,215.25	1,200,573.03
1866 .....	309,226,813.42	1,974,754.12
1867 .....	266,027,537.43	4,200,233.70
1868 .....	191,087,589.41	1,788,145.85
1869 .....	158,356,460.86	765,685.61
1870 .....	184,899,756.49	229,102.88
1871 .....	143,098,153.63	580,355.37
1872 .....	130,642,177.72	
1873 .....	113,729,314.14	* 315,254.51
1874 .....	102,644,746.98	

For the purpose of showing just where the Internal revenues come from, the the following analysis of the tax for 1874 is given. There was collected from—

Spirits .....	\$49,444,089.85
Tobacco .....	33,242,875.62
Fermented liquors .....	9,04,679.72
Banks and bankers .....	3,387,160.67
Penalties, etc. ....	364,216.34
Adhesive stamps † .....	6,136,844.64
Balances ‡ .....	761,880.14
	<b>\$102,644,746.98</b>

\* Balances due in 1871, collected in 1872, and 1873, and covered into the U. S. Treasury in the last year.

† Includes stamps on bank checks, &c., perfumery, cosmetics, patent medicines, matches, &c., known as proprietary stamps.

‡ Balances from articles and occupations formerly taxed, but now exempt.

The largest receipts from Internal revenue were collected in 1866; from personal income the largest collection was in 1867. From these sources combined the largest annual collection, as will be seen, was made in 1866, and amounted to \$311,174,567.74.

Since July, 1866, taxes have been gradually reduced until the amount of taxes *repealed* now reaches an aggregate of two hundred million dollars per annum, a reduction of two-thirds of the entire tax of former years.

The internal revenue taxes, as stated, have been removed from all articles excepting spirits, beer, tobacco, patent medicines, perfumery, matches, and banking capital; and the revenues from these sources are collected mainly by stamps, which are paid for on delivery, thus materially reducing the cost of collecting the internal revenues.

The percentage cost of assessing and collecting the revenues—adhesive stamps excepted—from 1863 to 1874, inclusive, as deduced from the expenses allowed by the the Fifth Auditor, by whom the accounts of internal revenue officers are adjusted, is as follows:

Fiscal years.	Cost of assessing and collecting.
1863 .....	6 per cent.
1864 .....	4 per cent.
1865 .....	2 4-10 per cent.
1866 .....	2 2-10 per cent.
1867 .....	2 3-10 per cent.
1868 .....	4 4-10 per cent.
1869 .....	4 2-10 per cent.
1870 .....	3 5-10 per cent.
1871 .....	4 4-10 per cent.
1872 .....	4 4-10 per cent.
1873 .....	4 2-10 per cent.
1874 .....	4 1-10 per cent.

Add to this, allowance or drawbacks, refunding taxes, cost of stamps, paper, and dies, and the expenses of the office at Washington—in all about 2 per cent. additional—and we have the total cost of collecting the internal revenue, showing an economy probably without a parallel.

#### WHO PAYS THE INTERNAL REVENUE TAXES?

As there is a perpetual Democratic howl falling upon the ears of the people about the



burdens of Federal taxation, it will be well, while we have the figures and facts before us, to ascertain who are tax-payers and who are not. If a family uses fifty boxes of matches, of ordinary size, in a year, they pay fifty cents in taxes to support the Government. If they have occasion to use a few bottles of patent medicines; or if the ladies are disposed to indulge in perfumery; or if the head of the family is well to do and keeps a bank account, on which he occasionally draws a check, these incidents may occasion an annual expenditure of fifty cents to a dollar in taxes. But this includes the entire list of articles taxed, excepting spirits, beer and tobacco in their various forms. But the latter articles are not included among the necessities of life; they are luxuries; they pay nearly the whole of the internal revenue taxes, and those who indulge in them are the tax-payers. And yet with taxes added the consumption of tobacco, spirits and beer, is annually increasing. Dealers in those articles not only add the amount of the tax to the cost of their goods,

but they fix a profit on the tax itself, in the same proportion as they do on the original price for the article before the tax is added. In other words, the tax pays the same rate of profit as the goods—and *get the consumption increases*. The dealer rarely complains of the tax; he makes money out of it, and the slave to artificial appetite pays it all. If the tax falls more heavily upon the Democratic party than upon any other class, it is only because they are the larger consumers of those articles. Abstinence is a perfect remedy, against which neither the Government nor the Republican party will interpose an obstacle. If Republicans feel the burden they have only to curtail their daily use of these worse than useless articles, and their taxes will become less. The payment of internal revenue taxes is a matter, therefore, wholly within the control of each individual; and if his appetites cause him to contribute to the support of the Government, he does it from choice, not from compulsion.

## DEMOCRATIC RECONSTRUCTION.

During the civil war several border states passed under Republican control. The reasons therefor are obvious and need no recapitulation. In the following years of reconstruction, eleven southern States were distinctly under Republican direction. The constitutions, under which they were again recognized as entitled to representation in Congress, were framed by conventions, the majority in each of which were of the party loyal to the Union and the national will. In the border, as well as reconstructed States, provisions were either engrafted on their old constitutions, or others were framed, as in West Virginia and Missouri, in harmony with the new order of things.

The salient points of these constitutions were, primarily, the embodiment of distinct recognitions of the freedom of all men, their equality before the law, and of the direct enunciation of the doctrine of national sovereignty as against that of State Rights.

Secondarily, or rather to secure the due administration of these equities, the new constitutions embodied provisions prohib-

ing the payment of debts on account of rebellion and slavery, requiring the establishing of judicial and jury systems open to all; of free public schools, and making other changes in the same spirit, such as that of basing representation on population, instead of territory or wealth, which in many of the former slave States were either controlling or equal factors with population or electors. There were also the re-division of the counties into the townships or some similar form, with the view of encouraging the habit of civil dissension and self-reliance, which long experience has taught the northern states to be essential to political growth and security.

There were another class of provisions, temporary and precautionary in character, as to the wisdom of which different opinions prevail. These were the limitations imposed in the form of test oaths or direct disqualification of certain classes, in consequence of their activity or participation in the then recent rebellion.

These have proved to be a vulnerable fea-

ture—the heel of our Achilles. Here the arrows of the southern Hector have penetrated. On the cry raised and disorganization induced thereby, the border States, and a majority of the reconstructed States, with the aid of organized violence, directed against the new-made citizens and their friends of the white race, have reverted back to the Democracy—the party which has been nationally and sectionally consistent only in two things—sympathy with slavery and its consequent treason, and an eager desire to get back to power at any cost and under almost any pretence.

It is worth while observing how and in what way the Democratic victories have been used in the South. In every instance the efforts have been directed towards two points: First, a direct social, political and personal control of the colored citizen, his labor and vote, and second—a reconstruction of the State constitutions. In the latter effort the aim is distinct and definite. It is to substitute evasive or delusive phraseology for that which was so directly framed and adopted, in regard to State Rights, secession and the non-payment of rebel or pro-slavery claims, to destroy the township system, evade the population basis, and break down by omissions of needed power, the efficiency of the common schools.

A pertinent example of all these things is being exhibited in Missouri—a State which has, since 1820, been the battle ground of contending systems. For more than a generation it has been ruled by those who sustained the most ultra doctrines of State sovereignty, while as a fact, its existence as a State, is due to the common purchase, settlement and effort of the entire people. Formed from the Louisiana purchase, its Democratic politicians have claimed the right of the robber, and were only foiled in 1861, by bolder men than themselves.

In 1865, northern and national influences controlled this—the Keystone State of the Continental interior—and a constitution was framed, denying State sovereignty, establishing free schools, and basing representation on population. These were chief among its principal features. The latter was essen-

tial to a redemption of the State. By the constitution of 1820, under which it was admitted, territory, not inhabitants, controlled, every county being allowed at least one representative, while at the same time the total number of representatives were so limited that it was impossible for the better settled portions of the State to acquire the influences justly belonging thereto.

This system has been defended from the beginning as a Democratic principle. It has been strenuously sustained as a measure of policy and with good reasons, as it deliberately committed that great State for 45 years to the rule of a minority, and that the more ignorant, illiterate, prejudiced and intolerant of the inhabitants thereof, who are inevitably the bulk of the Democratic party.

The Bourbon Democracy unlearn nothing. Having succeeded in obtaining renewed control of the State through the ambition of German-American leaders who desired to keep their followers intact, as a balance-of-power element, and by the effect of another feeling—that of revolt against civil disabilities, which was felt by a Republican minority, more generous than wise, the Bourbons now kick in the face the men on whose shoulders they first climbed back to power, and proceed to make a constitution by which they fondly expect to ensure a long continued lease to themselves and party associates, present and prospective.

Of course the Convention is Democratic. There are fair reasons to believe that even with fair play on their own part, the Democracy might continue to control the State—at least for some years to come. The accessions to its population for some years past, appear to have been most largely drawn from Kentucky and the southern portions of Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio, as well, also, from Tennessee. These are all Democratic strongholds. Besides, a large number of the ex-Confederate soldiery belonging to Missouri, originally disbanded in Texas, have returned to their own State. This secures present success. But the two great rivers which flow through the State, bring civilization and advanced ideas on their waters. The lines of railroad, built or in process of construction, serve the same beneficent end. The advent of liber-

al thought and free industry, "to the manner born," is a death blow at Bourbonism. This is understood by the Democratic majority.

The convention's delusive paraphrase of a bill of rights—so far as it deals with the relations of state and nation—need not be now discussed. Nor will it be well to digress to the avowed hostility displayed toward the system of free schools, which a Republican constitution established, and legislatures of that faith organized and sustained. To turn aside and point to the presence of Waldo P. Johnson—a confederate politician, who is, avowedly, unreconstructed—as presiding officer, is also unnecessary. But the manner in which the PEOPLE of Missouri, without regard to party, are being despoiled, in the interests of a bigoted faction, deserves and must command exposure—illustrating as it does the character of Democratic reconstruction.

The State of Missouri is now divided into 117 counties, and contained, according to the census of 1870, a population of 1,721,295. Accepting the total increase for the preceding decade, 539,283, as the standard for the one now passing, and over a quarter of a million persons can be added to the total of 1870, making the present estimated population at not less than two million persons. The injustice perpetrated by the Bourbon scheme of reconstruction is thus made greater, as at least seven-tenths of this increase is in the counties that are largely disfranchised. The following is the section adopted by the Convention, the rule for representation, the vote being 42 to 17:

"The House of Representatives shall consist of members chosen every second year by the qualified voters of the several counties, and apportioned in the following manner: The ratio of representation shall be ascertained, at each session of the General Assembly, by dividing the whole number of inhabitants of the State, as ascertained by the last census of the United States, by the number 200. Each county having one ratio, or less, shall be entitled to one Representative. Each county having two-and-a-half times said ratio shall be entitled to two Representatives. Each county having four times said ratio shall be entitled to three Representatives. Each county having six times said ratio shall

be entitled to four Representatives, and so on above that number, giving one additional member for every two-and-a-half additional ratio."

The *St. Louis Republican*, (Democratic) an able paper strongly in opposition to the Administration, says of the Convention's action:

A majority of the delegates, representing a minority of the people of the State, have carried their point, which is the partial disfranchisement of the population and wealth of the larger counties. The representative ratio is to be determined by dividing the whole population of the State by 200; this makes the ratio under the last census, 8,630. We say this is the ratio; but it is only nominally so; in point of fact, the provision adopted after fixing it as the ratio of representation, proceeds to disregard it, by directing that 36 counties which do not possess the ratio shall still have one representative each; and, second, by directing that 24 other counties that possess two or more ratios shall not have a corresponding number of representatives. It therefore gives the 36 small counties more than their share of votes in the legislature and doubles the injustice by giving the 24 larger counties less than their due share.

Besides this it makes a cumulative rule of injustice—by providing that a county to be entitled to two representatives must have two-and-a-half ratios; to be entitled to three representatives it must have four ratios; to be entitled to four representatives it must have six ratios; and to be entitled to more than four representatives it must have two-and-a-half ratios for each representative.

Waldo P. Johnson, an ex-Senator in both the Union and rebel Senates, and presumably an able man, defends this action by the robber plea—that the small counties having the power now, propose to keep it, right or wrong. It is worth while examining this scheme more in detail. St. Louis city and county for instance, had in 1870 a population of 351,189. Its growth during the preceding decade was 160,665. It is probably not as rapid now. But it will be safe to add about 50,000 to that of 1870, making a total of 400,000 persons. The Bourbons allow St. Louis 17 members. They give as many to the same number of counties in the southwest section of the State, lying close to the Arkansas line, and known to have the most

benighted inhabitants, with a total population of about 96,000 persons, no one of them having a sufficient number of inhabitants to secure a single ratio. The 36 counties which are each given a single representative, (including the 17 referred to), have each less than the ratio of population laid down as the basis of representation. These counties with a total population of 190,000, are all in the southern portion of the State, among the Ozark mountains and the swamps and bayous of the southeast, contiguous to the Mississippi. They are at present inaccessible to railroads, and are likely to remain so for a long time to come. The population was largely a bushwhacking one during the civil war, and is made up of the classes most demoralized by the slave system, the smaller slaveholder, or the "poor whites." They have been reinforced by the worst elements of the rebel forces, that Missouri recruited. It is to these influences that Bourbonism deliberately commits the great State of Missouri, refusing now to submit this question separately to the people.

The analysis carried a little further will prove instructive. On the Missouri river, from St. Louis upward, there are twenty-five counties (including that of St. Louis), with a total population (1870) of 781,857, which have but forty-eight representatives, or one to 16,280 persons. In the thirty-six favored counties, the ratio is about one to 5,270. Pursued further, and the disparities will be even greater. Taking forty-eight counties of Missouri, lying contiguous to her great rivers and railroad lines, the chief in population and wealth, and it is found that a population of 1,165,706 (1870) are to have but seventy-seven representatives, while the remaining sixty-nine counties, with a population of only 555,589, have sixty-nine representatives. The ratio in the first case is over 15,000, and in the last only a little over 8,000.

These facts illustrate the character of Bourbonism, and point to the conditions they mean to sustain. Our "Liberal" friends there are almost to be consoled with, aptly illustrating, as they do, the parable of the spider and the fly. Surely they have walked into the parlor of the Democratic spider, and

are now systematically being swallowed. Judging from the buzzing, the process is not an agreeable one—to the fly. As there are other conventions to be called under Democratic auspices, the country at large may know what to expect, from the example Missouri presents.

THE STATES RIGHTS HERESY is a fit one to be taught in States and by men who lead therein—which owe their existence to no previous heritage of colonial dependence, or any transitory and uncertain existence as "sovereign and independent" States,—being carved as they were out of a common territory, acquired by the efforts and means of all THE PEOPLE, as well as being settled by persons from every State without preference. At least this latter was so up to 1820, when slavery placed ban and barrier, in the way of northern migration southward. The States of Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas, six out of the eleven States that formed the slaveholders confederacy, were formed from common territory belonging to the Union, under the Constitution which "We the PEOPLE" adopted.—Florida was won from Spain, as also a part of Alabama. The major portion of that State was originally in possession of France, as was also Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas. Texas was wrested from Mexico, by a mixed process of settlement and warfare. It might perhaps better claim a little sovereign right than the others, but the conditions of admission changed all such pretensions. Tennessee was part of the colonies of North Carolina and Virginia; as was also Kentucky. Missouri was a part of the Louisiana purchase. Yet these are the States in which the loudest claims are made for the right of a State to be superior at its own will to the Nation. There are twenty-four out of thirty-seven States thus carved from a common domain. Of these, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and a portion of Wisconsin, were formed from the cession made to the Union by Virginia and other States, of their colonial claims. The balance of Wisconsin and Minnesota formed the British cession made by the treaty of peace when our Independence was acknowledged. Nebraska, Kansas, Nevada and Oregon form part of the Louisiana purchase, and California was captured from Mexico.

## REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

## NATIONAL.

... At the close of the last month, the difficulties on the Mexican border, had assumed a shape more threatening to international peace than theretofore. The General Government, sincerely appreciating the difficulties with which our sister Republic has had to contend, was earnest in the desire to maintain the peace. Annexation is a word belonging to the past. The Republican party and the administrations by which its policy has been represented, while accepting the "manifest destiny" idea in a loftier, nobler sense, than the old and somewhat buccaneering one in which it was formerly used, have not sought to meddle with their neighbors at all, North or South. The difference in its view might well be expressed by the words, "attraction" and "gravitation," instead of "annexation." It was this idea that ruled in the San Domingo matter. We were sought, and were not seeking. Our course toward Spain and Cuba has been governed by the same just principle, and results vindicate us, however hard it has sometimes been to stay the impulses in favor of Cuba, which have often impelled us to action not strictly defensible under international law. Towards Mexico, the Republican executives have always been most kindly and generous. Imagine what would have been the result in the days of filibustering Democracy, if the "Libra Zone" had existed then, and been as in recent years, the base of operations by organized Mexican and Indian banditti? Their States west of the Rio Grande would have been "annexed" and our boundaries "rectified" as the term goes, by being carried to the summit of the lesser Cordilleras that traverse that portion of Mexico. But the rule of justice includes that of acting on knowledge, and it has been well understood at the national capital, that the Mexican government, emerging from the midst of disorganizing events, was doing all it could to repress turbulence and bring the "Zone" within the control of its lawful authority. It has been a four-cornered struggle, with the people of Texas, rather more anxious

than otherwise, for a "muss." They had a justifiable provocation in the presence of Cortinas and the banditti, whom his position at Matamoras has encouraged and probably directed. The two national governments have endeavored to keep the other parties within bounds.

It looked a few weeks since as if the United States would be compelled to active operations on Mexican territory. Preparations were quietly made for the forwarding of troops, and a vessel of war was ordered to the mouth of the Rio Grande, with directions to cause the American side of the river to be patrolled by steam launches. At this juncture, when there was a probability that the Governor of Texas would make a formal demand on the Executive for national aid in suppressing invasion and plundering, the Mexican Government materially aided in solving the problem, by the successful arrest of Cortinas at Matamoras and his removal as a prisoner on a gunboat to the City of Mexico for trial. Our vigilance will not be slackened, and the measures now adopted wisely take from the Texans the opportunity or occasion, that it is probable many of them desire, to embroil the two Republics in war. We shall be found on Mexican soil, if it is ever necessary, only to aid its government to suppress the lawless marauders who are as much the enemies of Mexico as ours.

... The country is to be congratulated on the successful outcome so far of the Sioux negotiations for the surrender of the rights "so-called" claimed by those Indians, over certain portions of Nebraska, as well as that of hunting in the Northern portion of the Republican valley. Nothing has occurred recently that so pointedly justifies the Indian peace policy. The money paid to the Ogalalla and Brulé Sioux is, at their request, to be expended in the purchase of agricultural tools, cows and other stock. This action showed that the elder chiefs were for a peace policy, and that in the main, they controlled their tribes. There is every probability that the Black Hills cession, or so much of them as may be found valuable for mining

purposes, will be successfully negotiated. There is no longer any danger of a general Indian outbreak. The frontier maxim that it is cheaper to feed than fight, has been fully justified. The Executive has ordered a thorough investigation into the charges relative to the Indian Territory against contractors for Indian supplies, and others. The facts that are being brought to light, showing the bad working of the contract system in connection with such matters, in the postal service, and construction of public buildings, are evidences of the truth of a statement often made—that a government is best served when it serves itself. Under the old army policy, the Western posts, etc., were furnished by trains equipped direct by the Quartermaster's department. There is always so large a margin of profit in contracts, taking them on the most moderate scale, that contractors are readily banded into "rings," and corruption funds can be easily raised to continue and enlarge the system. It is a legacy of, and distinct issue from, Democratic traditions, which teach and practice that nothing should be done by government that can be done by individuals. There will probably be striking illustrations of this view, in an attack upon the Government printing at Washington, through the Democratic House in the next Congress. That establishment costs about two millions annually. The same amount of work done by private parties under the contract system would cost at least five millions, and probably more.

.... The Treasury officials are steadily pushing the work of investigation into the whisky frauds, with a view to speedy trial of the offenders. The agents of the "whisky ring" appear just now to be busily engaged in getting up a counter-fire of charges against officials and others who were instrumental in breaking the frauds. These rumors assail high officials, and one of them is aimed at the Secretary himself, accusing him of raiding only those places that in the manufacture of whisky, competed with the distillers of his own State. The public will know how to appreciate these libels, by the source from which they come. It is well to hesitate long over charges made by exposed and almost self-convicted felons. Secretary Bristow will

see that the rumors in circulation, affecting the integrity of officials under him are fully probed, and their truth or falsehood made clear.

... The Board charged with the Centennial presentation of the National Departments and the workings of Government under them, have finally concluded to construct a building in the Centennial Exposition Grounds for that purpose. The cost of the building is to be \$75,000, and the design adopted is architecturally elegant and appropriate. Why should not the several States follow the General Government and construct around its building, as a focal centre, structures in which to display the natural products of their soil, mines, quarries, forests and waterways, as well as statistical and other proofs of State condition and advancement. It might easily be arranged so that several States, if not willing to undertake the construction of separate structures, could combine and exhibit under one roof. Think what a display the States of California, Oregon and Nevada could make together. Those of New England might do the same. The Cotton States could gather under one roof. Others, such as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, etc., could well afford separate structures. Of course what would be exhibited therein should and would be strictly confined to the natural products which illustrate the capacity of the State to support life and industry; and to the processes and results that make manifest its administrative ability and progress.

#### CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS.

.... The "Fourth" was celebrated South and North with general earnestness and heartiness. Two quite notable gatherings were had at Memphis and Atlanta—the orator at the latter place being Alexander H. Stephens, a man who is physically a wonder and intellectually a surprise. His oration is marked by the absence of nearly every objectionable sentiment; even his presentation of "State Rights Constitutionalism" being more than usually moderate, and certainly less offensive than formerly. There are two distinct philosophies of sovereignty in this country—that of the Nation and that of the States as joined in a Confederation, or to use a word much less offensive from its memories



and more distinctly representing the general idea—a Federation. THE NATION is almost modern as a distinct growth of political life. In mediæval and ancient history but faint traces are found of such a collective entity. The City, the State, the Sovereign, and later, the Confederation in various forms, have each asserted their place in the life of the race. But Nationality could not really exist until THE PEOPLE were recognized. Their recognition, with consequent assumption of power, created THE NATION in the sense we know and understand the term. Only from the birth of the American Republic can be dated that of the National idea. Only from the defeat of that sectionalism which cast its all upon the hazard of a die, and that, civil war, have we fully realized that THE NATION exists. It will not be long, as years count in the greater epochs, before the whole body of political thinkers will fully recognize that under Republican forms of government, a Federal nation can be strong in itself, a terror to foes, vigorous at home, vigilant in defence of rights, active in prosecuting and securing them to all, while at the same time self government is localized, and all State administrations and privileges are carefully sustained and conserved. Political philosophers, like Mr. Stephens, are deeply imbued with classic lore, and draw their illustrations and comparisons in the main from the political history of Greece, whose petty States were always so brawlingly disposed to assert their sovereignties as against others, while at home they were quite indifferent to the civic rights of those who lived under them. Privileges they contended for; rights, never. In later eras, comparisons are made with the lusty municipalities and free cities of the middle ages. None of these afford more than isolated data for the modern era. But speculation aside, the People will settle the theorists as well as decide the theories, the outcome being as in 1861-'65, that THE NATION will continue to chrystalize itself more and more year by year, while the discussions and dissertations in which Mr. Stephens and his school indulge, may hereafter be of material advantage in checking undue tendency to the centralization of power, by keeping alive State and local integrity and activity.

The celebration at Memphis was conducted by the colored citizens, and was made noteworthy by the speeches of the ex-Confederate Generals, Forrest and Pillow; the latter's oration being in especial good taste. The advice he gave was, in general, quite sensible. Exception could be taken only to the suggestion that, as citizens, they eschew party organizations and vote *only* on the character of candidates. This is doubtless a consumption that the old leaders of the South devoutly wish for. It would give them the in-nings, and ensure unchecked control, not because they monopolize all the good character, but because of disintegration in Republican ranks.

... Passing these and noting the historical incidents which the month past has revived, it will be remembered that the late Fourth was a Centennial anniversary of great significance. The Continental Congress, which met for the first time in 1774, was again in session. Provincial Congresses were also organized, and with the Continental Congress these bodies were in deliberation at their several places of meeting, on the Fourth of July, 1775. It was on the sixth of that month, two days after, that the Continental Congress set forth its view of the causes and necessity of taking up arms, ending with this declaration, written by Jefferson :

"We have not raised armies with designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent States. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure. We exhibit to mankind the spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation or even suspicion of offence. In our native land, in defense of the freedom that is our birthright, for the protection of our property against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before."

These declarations and other efforts for peace, did not stay the inevitable. Asserting loyalty to the King and his government, it maintained that it was only defending the rights of all Englishmen, in resisting oppressive measures. The Acts of Parliament to which it was declared "Americans would not submit" were—1. The Sugar Act; 2. The Stamp Act; 3. The Acts for quartering the troops; 4. The Tea Act; 5. The Acts for

the trial in Great Britain of offences in America; 6. The Boston Port Bill; 7. The Quebec Act; 8. The Act for regulating the Government of Massachusetts; 9. The Act suspending the New York Legislature.

Important events occurred before the anti-natal Fourth now referred to. The battle of Lexington had been fought on the 19th of April; Ticonderoga had been captured May 12; and the action of Bunker Hill had occurred June 17. The second General Congress had assembled on the 10th of May. Washington had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the American forces; he had arrived at Watertown, Mass., July 2; had been cordially received by the Massachusetts Congress, and subsequently at Cambridge, July 3, assumed command of the Continental Army. This anniversary was appropriately celebrated in the city where the event occurred.

#### STATE CONVENTIONS—POLITICAL.

... The Wisconsin Republican Convention met at Madison on the 7th of July. The following ticket was placed in nomination:

*For Governor*—Harris Luddington; *Lieutenant-Governor*—H. T. Eaton; *Secretary of State*—H. B. Warner; *Treasurer*—Henry Baltz; *Attorney-General*—John R. Bennett; *Superintendent of Public Instruction*—Robert Graham.

The candidate for Governor is a prominent citizen of Milwaukee, a merchant, and very popular. He has been elected to the mayoralty by a large majority. The proceedings were animated and harmonious. The platform adopted renews pledges to the Union and the Federal sovereignty; declares the just rights of the States not incompatible with this sovereignty; maintains the equal rights of all citizens, and regards labor as entitled in a high degree to the protection of government; opposes religious or other interferences with the school system; endorses the President's letter declining a re-nomination; approves the Republican administration, especially in its earnest efforts to collect the revenue, prevent and punish fraud, expose past violations and guard against their recurrence; adheres to the doctrine of legislative control of railroads and other corporations, inaugurated by the Republican party of the State; favors the

early attainment of a currency convertible into coin, and therefore a gradual resumption of specie payments in such manner as to disturb the business interests of the country as little as possible; declares for a tariff for revenue only, so adjusted as to be the least burdensome and most favorable to the interests of industry; asserts the Republican party will continue by all the means in the power of the State to encourage immigration and thereby develop the resources and promote the prosperity of the nation, and holds that true education and sound morals are the best agencies for promoting the laudable cause of temperance.

... The Minnesota Democrats met in convention at St. Paul, on the 7th ult.

*For Governor*—D. L. Buell; *Lieutenant-Governor*—E. W. Durant; *Secretary of State*—Adolphus Bierman; *State Auditor*—M. Doran; *State Treasurer*—Albert Schaeffer; *Chief Justice of the Supreme Court*—L. Emmett; *Railroad Commissioner*—J. W. Sercebox; *Attorney General*—R. Jones.

The platform reads like a transposition of those adopted by the Republican conventions which have so far met and adjourned. Its only Democratic features are denunciations of the administration and the party by which it is sustained. Like the Democracy of Kentucky, Maine, California and Iowa, that of Minnesota repudiates the financial policy of the Ohio platform, in declaring for a speedy resumption of specie payments.

... The temperance politicians have nominated the following State ticket in Minnesota:

*For Governor*—R. F. Humiston; *Lieutenant Governor*—J. B. Tuttle; *Secretary of State*—John H. Stevens; *Chief Justice*—Sherman Page; *Attorney General*—C. M. McCarthy; *Auditor*—Asa B. Hutchinson; *Treasurer*—H. D. Brown; *Clerk of Supreme Court*—P. A. Jewell; *Railroad Commissioner*—A. M. Greely.

This platform declares, besides its temperance planks, that corrupt parties *must die*, and make way for new parties. Removal from office for mere difference of political opinion is a practice opposed to sound policy and just principles. Fixed and moderate salaries with competency and sobriety should be the official rule. President, Vice-President, and United States Senators should be selected by a direct vote of the people.

The currency should be appreciated to a gold standard, and a sound system only be tolerated. All abuses in transportation management, excessive rates, and unjust local discriminations should be opposed and checked by law. That an absolute public revenue being necessary, it may properly be raised by import duties and an equitable assessment on the property and legitimate business.

The New York Prohibitionists have also nominated a State Ticket, as follows:

*For Secretary*, C. D. Dusenbery; *Comptroller*, Anson A. Hopkins; *Treasurer*, Stephen B. Ayers; *State Engineer and Surveyor*, Geo. A. Dudley; *Canal Commissioner*, Ira D. Bell; *State Prison Inspector*, John B. Gibb; *Attorney General*, Ed. T. Marsh.

... The Democratic Liberal nominations in Iowa are as follows:

*For Governor*, Shepard Leffler; *Lieutenant-Governor*, Capt. E. B. Woodward; *Judge of the Supreme Court*, W. J. Knight; *Superintendent of Public Instruction*, A. R. Wright.

#### EDUCATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND MEETINGS.

... An important body met at Chattanooga on the 30th of June and the 1st of July. It was called as an Inter-State Educational Convention, by the State Teachers' Association of Tennessee. Representatives of seven States were present, and the condition of education was discussed. Among the more prominent educators present were Mr. Harris, of St. Louis, and the State Superintendents of several States.

#### EDUCATIONAL.

... The college commencement orations, during the past month have been marked with an unusual degree of attention to the "higher politics." General Preston at the University of Virginia, however, managed to lower the tone and to let in a blast from the pandemonium of sectional hatreds and discord. President Woolsey, at Yale, Charles Francis Adams, at Amherst, and the President of the Industrial University, of Illinois, were among the more conspicuous of those who "improved" the occasion to point out that "Democracy is a failure;" for such, in fact, is the general burden of all their utterances, veiled under whatever euphony of expression it may. Like other critics, less able, perhaps, or less inclined to give a fair judgment, they fall into the error of attribut-

ing to the Republican institutions the evils which transmitted from the old forms of class, caste, privilege, and oppression, have not been as yet overcome by the revivifying processes that belong to new conditions. Democracy has not rounded its first fair century, but the critics pile accusingly on its broad shoulders all the vileness of ignorance and deformity inherited from the thousand years in which feudalism ran its race. President Woolsey's accusation is the most serious. He argues that honor is a characteristic of aristocratic politics, and that ours are marked conspicuously by its absence. His illustrations are often pointed, but he fails to see that the source of the low tone whereof he speaks, is found far more in unequitable and demoralizing business methods which aim to found wealth on speculation, rather than on industry and production, than it is in politics itself. The class of whom the venerable doctor is a chief representative—scholars and thinkers of more or less importance, are also to blame, in that they too often shirk their public duties, or when they perform them, do so as cavillers and patrons, rather than servants and citizens.

... General John Eaton, Commissioner of Education, also delivered a notable address before the Board of University Regents of New York, in which he stated with precision the functions of his Bureau, as an exchange for and disseminator of educational facts. He presented a startling array of facts in regard to the sum total of our illiteracy. General Eaton stated, that during the five years from July, 1870, till the present time, the Bureau of Education has prepared five annual reports (including that for 1874 now going through the press), which number altogether 4,500 pages, and twenty-nine pamphlets numbering 1,870 pages, so that the material for the five years is nearly 6,400 octavo pages. Up to the end of the last year it had distributed about 20,000 volumes and 85,000 pamphlets of its publications; 83,000 volumes of its publications were or had been under the control of Congress, and 2,500 copies of one of the reports were printed for sale by the Congressional Printer under a resolution of Congress. Since January the office had published 50,500 pamphlets, and 50,000 more will be issued very soon.

## UNITED STATES SENATE.—FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

STATES.	SENATORS.	Politics.			Expiration of Terms.		
		R	I	D	March 3d, 1877.	March 3d, 1879.	March 3d, 1881.
Alabama .....	{ George Spencer .....	1	...	...	...	1 R	...
	{ George Goldthwaite .....	...	...	...	1 D	...	...
†Arkansas.....	{ Powell Clayton.....	2	...	...	2 R	...	...
	{ Stephen W. Dorsey.....	3	...	...	...	2 R	...
†California.....	{ Aaron A. Sargent .....	4	...	...	...	3 R	...
	{ Newton Booth.....	...	1	...	...	...	1 I
Connecticut.....	{ Orrin S. Ferry .....	5	...	...	...	4 R	...
	{ William W. Eaton .....	...	2	...	...	...	2 D
Delaware.....	{ Thomas Francis Bayard.....	...	3	...	...	...	3 D
	{ Eli Saulsbury .....	...	4	...	3 D	...	...
Florida.....	{ Simon B. Conover.....	6	...	...	...	5 R	...
	{ Charles W. Jones.....	...	5	...	...	...	4 D
Georgia.....	{ Thomas Manson Norwood.....	...	6	...	4 D	...	...
	{ John B. Gordon.....	...	7	...	...	6 D	...
Illinois.....	{ John A. Logan .....	7	...	...	5 R	...	...
	{ Richard J. Oglesby .....	8	...	...	...	7 R	...
Indiana.....	{ Oliver P. Morton.....	9	...	...	...	8 R	...
	{ Joseph E. McDonald .....	...	8	...	...	...	5 D
*Iowa.....	{ George G. Wright.....	10	...	...	6 R	...	...
	{ William B. Allison.....	11	...	...	...	9 R	...
*Kansas.....	{ John James Ingalls.....	12	...	...	...	10 R	...
	{ James M. Harvey.....	13	...	...	7 R	...	...
*Kentucky.....	{ John W. Stevenson.....	...	9	...	8 D	...	...
	{ Thomas C. McCreery .....	...	10	...	...	11 D	...
Louisiana.....	{ R. West.....	14	...	...	9 R	...	...
	{ †Contested.....	...	...	...	...	12 R	...
*Maine.....	{ Hannibal Hamlin.....	15	...	...	...	...	6 R
	{ Lot. M. Morrill .....	16	...	...	10 R	...	...
†Maryland.....	{ George R. Dennis.....	...	11	...	...	13 D	...
	{ W. Pinckney Whyte.....	...	12	...	...	...	7 D
†Massachusetts.	{ George S. Boutwell.....	17	...	...	11 R	...	...
	{ Henry L. Dawes.....	18	...	...	...	...	8 R
Michigan.....	{ Thomas W. Ferry.....	19	...	...	12 R	...	...
	{ Isaac P. Christiancy.....	20	...	...	...	...	9 R
†Minnesota.....	{ William Windom.....	21	...	...	13 R	...	...
	{ J. B. McMillan.....	22	...	...	...	...	10 R
†Mississippi.....	{ James L. Alcorn.....	23	...	...	14 R	...	...
	{ B. K. Bruce.....	24	...	...	...	...	11 R
†Missouri.....	{ Lewis V. Bogy.....	...	13	...	...	14 D	...
	{ Francis M. Cockrell.....	...	14	...	...	...	12 D

UNITED STATES SENATE—FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.—*Continued.*

STATES.	SENATORS.	Politics.			Expiration of Terms.		
		R	I	D	March 3d, 1877.	March 3d, 1879.	March 3d, 1881.
Nebraska.....	{ Phineas W. Hitchcock.....	25	...	...	15 R	.....	.....
	{ A. S. Paddock.....	26	...	...	.....	.....	13 R
Nevada.....	{ John P. Jones.....	27	...	...	.....	15 R	.....
	{ William Sharon.....	28	...	...	.....	.....	14 R
New Hampshire	{ Aaron H. Cragin.....	29	...	...	16 R	.....	.....
	{ Bainbridge Wadleigh.....	30	...	...	.....	16 R	.....
†New Jersey....	{ Fred'k T. Frelinghuysen.....	31	...	...	17 R	.....	.....
	{ Theodore F. Randolph.....	...	15	...	.....	.....	15 D
†New York.....	{ Roscoe Conkling.....	32	...	...	.....	17 R	.....
	{ Francis Kernan.....	...	16	...	.....	.....	16 D
North Carolina.	{ Matt. W. Ransom.....	...	17	...	18 D	.....	.....
	{ A. S. Merrimon.....	...	18	...	.....	18 D	.....
Ohio.....	{ John Sherman.....	33	...	...	.....	19 R	.....
	{ Allen G. Thurman.....	...	19	...	.....	.....	17 D
Oregon.....	{ James K. Kelly.....	34	...	...	.....	10 R	.....
	{ John H. Mitchell.....	...	20	...	.....	.....	18 D
Pennsylvania...	{ Simon Cameron.....	...	21	...	19 D	.....	.....
	{ Wm. A. Wallace.....	35	...	...	.....	21 R	.....
Rhode Island...	{ Henry B. Anthony.....	36	...	...	20 R	.....	.....
	{ Ambrose E. Burnside.....	37	...	...	.....	.....	19 R
South Carolina.	{ Thomas J. Robertson.....	38	...	...	21 R	.....	.....
	{ John James Paterson.....	39	...	...	.....	22 R	.....
Tennessee.....	{ Henry Cooper.....	...	22	...	22 D	.....	.....
	{ Andrew Johnson.....	...	23	...	.....	.....	20 D
†Texas.....	{ Morgan C. Hamilton.....	...	2	...	23 I	.....	.....
	{ Samuel B. Maxey.....	...	24	...	.....	.....	21 D
Vermont.....	{ Justin S. Morrill.....	40	...	...	.....	23 R	.....
	{ George F. Edmunds.....	41	...	...	.....	.....	22 R
Virginia.....	{ John W. Johnston.....	...	25	...	24 D	.....	.....
	{ Robert E. Withers.....	...	26	...	.....	.....	23 D
West Virginia	{ Henry G. Davis.....	...	27	...	25 D	.....	.....
	{ Allen T. Caperton.....	...	28	...	.....	.....	24 D
Wisconsin.....	{ Timothy O. Howe.....	42	...	...	.....	24 R	.....
	{ Angus Cameron.....	43	...	...	.....	.....	25 R

In the State marked \* and † general elections will be held this fall. The first sign (\*) indicates States where the elections will include the legislature, the character of one or the other branch of which will have a controlling influence in the Senatorial elections, in which they will be called to vote. The second sign (†) embraces States whose legislatures will not be elected till next year, or the election of which, as in Massachusetts, will have no direct effect on the Senatorship. The politics are indicated, (R) Republican, (I) Independent, and (D) Democrat.

‡ The Louisiana vacancy is contested by Gov. P. L. B. Pinchack, a R-publican. In any event, it will be filled by a member of that party. That will make its total 44, a majority of 14 over all, and of 16 over the Democratic Senators.

## THE SENATE AND PENDING ELECTIONS.

[SEE TABLES ON PRECEDING PAGES.]

The Senatorial vacancies to be filled by the legislatures that will be in whole or in part elected at the general elections of the present and next year are divided as follows:—*Republicans*—Messrs. Clayton, Logan, Wright, Harvey, West, Morrill (Me.), Bontwell, Ferry (Mich.), Windom, Alcorn, Hitchcock, Cragin, Frelinghuysen, Anthony and Robertson—15; *Democrats*—Messrs. Goldthwaite, Saulsbury, Norwood, Stevenson, Ransom, Kelly, Cooper, Johnston and Davis—9; *Independent*—Hamilton—1, in all 25.

The next vacancies will occur in 1879, and the legislative elections will not take place until 1877 and '78. The Senators whose terms expire are as follows: *Republicans*—Messrs. Spencer, Dorsey, Sargent, Ferry (Conn.), Conover, Oglesby, Morton, Allison, Ingalls, (also the Louisiana Senator when seated), Jones (Nev.), Wadleigh, Conkling, Sherman, Cameron, Mitchell, Patterson and Morrill (Vt.)—18; *Democrats*—Messrs. Gordon, McCreery, Dennis, Bogy and Merriman—5, in all 23.

The last classification of vacancies—that of 1881—will be as follows: *Republicans*—Messrs. Hamlin, Dawes, Christiancy, McMillan, Bruce, Paddock, Sharon, Burnside, Edmunds and Cameron (Wis.)—10; *Democrats*—Messrs. Eaton, Bayard, Jones (Fla.), McDonald, Whyte, Cockrell, Randolph, Kernan, Thurman, Wallace, Johnson, Maxey, Withers and Caperton—14; *Independent*—Booth—1, in all 25.

Of the first batch of vacancies, four of the outgoing Republicans are from Southern States—Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. The two last will certainly elect Republicans; Louisiana the same, and the first named a Democrat, in all probability. Six others, all from Western States—Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Michigan, and Minnesota. They will doubtless be re-elected or replaced by members of the same party. The other Republican vacancies are from Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Hampshire and Rhode Island. The first two and the last named seats will be refilled by Republicans, and the probabilities are strongly in favor of the same result in the Granite State and New Jersey.

Among the Democratic vacancies, and that of Mr. Hamilton, Texas, Oregon is the only

Western or Northern State represented. The others are Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia. Alabama and North Carolina, which have both been Republican States and by fair majorities, seem now to be entirely under Democratic control. So with the two Virginias. Alabama ought to be re-deemed, and probably will be at the coming Presidential election. Fair expectations are held out in Oregon for Republican success. But it will be safer to count Alabama and Oregon as doubtful and the others as Democratic.

The following States are those in which the executive chair is to be filled at the elections of the present year; California, Kentucky, Ohio, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Maryland and Maine—9. Of these all but Kentucky, Ohio and Maryland, are now Republican States. Ohio will be so after the next election, it is confidentially expected.

In addition to the more important national results, flowing from general elections in nineteen States—of twenty-five Senators, the character of whose seats are to be most directly affected, and of nine Governors to be elected, there are also to be elected four Representatives in Congress from California, and six from Mississippi. These ten seats were filled in the last Congress by seven Republicans, one Democrat and one Independent. The probability is that that there will be no marked change, unless by the California Independent, writing himself Republican hereafter.

In addition to the regular elections for Representatives in Congress, referred to, there are several vacancies in other States caused by the decease of those originally elected. One of these is in the first district of Massachusetts, to fill the seat so long and honorably occupied by Mr. Buffington. In New York, the thirty-third district is vacant, Hon. A. F. Allen, Democrat, having died since the adjournment of the 43d Congress. Vacancies exist also in Pennsylvania, Oregon and Tennessee. These facts show the grave importance of the elections this year, and should arouse every one to the utmost activity.



## EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

## THE EXECUTIVE.

## APPOINTMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President has appointed Charles S. Douglas, of the District of Columbia, to be United States Consul at Puerto Plata, San Domingo.

William C. Nichols, Assistant Treasurer of the United States at Chicago, Illinois.

Frederick E. Grossman, Collector of Customs for the District of Fernandina, Florida.

John Taffe, of Nebraska, to be Secretary of the Territory of Colorado.

John R. Clark, of Nebraska, to be Surveyor General of the United States for the District of Nebraska and Iowa, vice E. Cunningham, resigned.

H. M. Keyser, of Illinois, to be Receiver of Public Moneys at Helena, Montana, vice J. L. Sheridan, declined.

Thomas A. Riley, of Pennsylvania, Agent for the Indians of White River Agency in Dakota.

Charles D. Bradley, Attorney for the United States for the Territory of Colorado.

A. Chee, interpreter to the United States Consul at Hong Kong, China.

## STATE DEPARTMENT.

## CHIEFS OF BUREAUS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

The President has signed the commissions of the following named persons, to be Chiefs of Bureaus in the Department of State:

Charles Payson, Statistics; Ferdinand Jefferson, Rolls and Library; Robert C. Morgan, Accounts; Arthur B. Wood, Consular; Henry D. J. Pratt, Diplomatic; John H. Haswell, Indexes and Archives, and Henry L. Thomas, Translator.

## TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

## REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE PAYMENT OF INTEREST ON REGISTERED BONDS OF THE UNITED STATES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON, June 26, 1875.

Hereafter, at the expiration of *seven months* from the time each schedule is payable, the United States Treasurer, assistant treasurers,

and designated depositaries are directed to forward to the First Auditor, for examination and settlement, any and all schedules for the payment of coin interest on the registered bonds of the United States.

Should any amounts remain due on these schedules, transcripts of such amounts, the names of the payees, &c., should be made and retained in the respective offices.

The total amount so outstanding and unpaid must be paid at once into the Treasury, to the credit of the Treasurer of the United States, as a "repayment on account of interest on registered bonds," and the original certificate of deposit with the amount pertaining to each loan stated thereon, must be forwarded to the Secretary of the Treasury. The fact of such repayment must be noted on the retained transcript as well as opposite each amount outstanding and unpaid upon the original schedule returned to the department.

If claims are hereafter made upon such officers for the outstanding amounts, the officers will refer the claims to the Secretary of the Treasury, noting on them the date of the original schedule, the date of the repayment of the amount into the Treasury, and endorsing upon the retained transcript the date of such reference to the Secretary of the Treasury.

The provisions of this Circular are intended to apply to all registered interest accounts hereafter rendered.

B. H. BRISTOW,  
Secretary of the Treasury.

## CIRCULAR INSTRUCTIONS TO OFFICERS OF CUSTOMS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 23, 1875.

In the receipt of silver and minor coins of the United States for payment of duties on imports, the following instructions will hereafter be observed by officers of the customs:

*Silver Coins.*—1. When the total amount of duties in any one entry cannot be paid entirely in gold coin, gold certificates, or demand notes, because involving a fractional part of a dollar, such fractional part may be paid in silver coins of the United States.

2. When the total amount of duties, payable in any one entry, does not exceed five dollars, such total amount may be paid in silver coins of the United States.

*Minor Coins.*—Minor coins of the United States—i. e., those not of gold or silver coinage, may be received when necessary in making change to any amount less than ten cents in any single transaction.

CHAS. F. CONANT, Acting Secretary.

SUPPLEMENT TO DECISION NO. 177—CONCERNING THE STAMP TAX UPON DRAFTS, BILLS, CHECKS, OR ORDERS DRAWN IN THE UNITED STATES UPON A BANK, BANKER OR TRUST COMPANY IN A FOREIGN COUNTRY.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,  
WASHINGTON, June 30, 1875.

In Decision No. 177, dated April 12, 1875, "concerning the stamp tax upon bank checks, drafts, orders, or vouchers," &c., it was held that "drafts or bills drawn in the United States upon a foreign country need not be stamped, not being 'vouchers' in the meaning of the law while in this country." That ruling is, from and after this date, reversed.

The statute in question, section 15 of the act of February 8, 1875, imposes the stamp tax of two cents upon every "bank check, draft, order, or voucher for the payment of any sum of money whatsoever, drawn upon any bank, banker, or trust company."

Drafts, bills, checks, or orders drawn in the United States on a bank, banker, or trust company in a foreign country, although perhaps not "vouchers" while in this country, appear to me to be clearly taxable under the terms of the statute. They are drafts, check, or orders drawn upon a bank, banker, or trust company, and there is nothing in the law limiting to this country the locality of the bank, &c., upon which the paper is drawn.

Collectors will at once notify the banks, bankers, and trust companies in their several districts of this change of ruling, and will require the payment of the stamp tax on the instruments referred to, from and after this date.

D. D. PRATT,  
Commissioner.

#### CHANGES AND APPOINTMENTS UNDER THE RE ORGANIZATION BILL.

The act of the last session of Congress, reorganizing the United States Treasury, went into operation on the 1st of July. The bill reduces the clerical force about one hundred and five, and increases the salaries of those holding the more responsible positions. The following are the changes and appointments made:

*Chief of Division of Warrants*—J. S. Powers.

*Assistant Chief of Division*—W. F. McLellan, vice Whiting, reduced.

*Chiefs of Divisions*—William F. Clark, customs; P. K. Upton, sub-Treasury; E. P.

Gaines, Internal Revenue; A. L. Sturdevant, Stationery; D. Lyman, Navigation; S. J. Kimball, Revenue Marine.

*Assistant Chiefs of Divisions*—E. B. Daskam, S. A. Johnson, Charles Lyman, D. B. Lander and E. W. Clarke, Jr.

*Division of Loans*—Walter Stewart, Receiving Clerk of Bonds, and George L. Warren, bookkeeper.

*Division of Currency*—Isaac Thompson, Chief, and Charles H. Brown, Assistant.

*First Auditor's Office*—Thaddeus Sturgis, William P. Marsh, John B. Bently and Allen F. McMillan, Chiefs of Divisions; James B. Cleveland, Fourth Clerk.

*Third Auditor's Office*—J. F. Jones, J. Tichenor, A. Cauldwell, George Doolittle and W. H. Whitney, Chiefs of Division.

#### DEPUTIES IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

William P. Titcomb, Deputy Register of the Treasury.

Henry A. Lockwood, Deputy Commissioner of Customs.

W. M. Hemphill Jones, Deputy First Controller.

Edmund B. Curtis, Deputy Second Controller.

Henry K. Leaver, Deputy First Auditor.  
Charles F. Herring, Deputy Second Auditor.

Allen M. Gangewer, Deputy Third Auditor.

William B. Moore, Deputy Fourth Auditor.

Jonathan B. Mann, Deputy Fifth Auditor.  
Frederick B. Lilley, Deputy Auditor of the Treasury for the Post-office Department.

#### REDEMPTION OF 5-20 BONDS.

The Secretary of the Treasury, on the 24th of June, made the twenty-first call of 5-20 bonds for redemption. The call is for \$5,000,000 of coupon bonds, known as the fourth series, Act of February 25, 1862, dated May 1, 1862, as follows:

\$50—No. 21001 to No. 21700, inclusive.

\$100—No. 59101 to No. 64500, inclusive.

\$500—No. 31901 to No. 34000, inclusive.

\$1,000—No. 91501 to No. 96900, inclusive.

To be redeemed at the U. S. Treasury, in Washington, on and after September 24, 1875, at which date interest on the called bonds will cease.

## OUTSTANDING NATIONAL BANK NOTES.

The following statement represents the actual amount of outstanding National Bank notes on July 1, last, as compared with the amount outstanding last year, and shows the operation of the new Currency act:

National Bank notes outstanding June 20, 1874, \$349,894,182; National Bank notes outstanding January 14, 1875, \$351,861,450; national bank notes outstanding July 1, 1875, \$351,869,008; circulation issued since act of June 20, 1874, \$11,601,892; circulation destroyed and retired, \$9,627,036; actual increase of circulation, \$1,974,821; legal-tender notes deposited with the Treasurer of the United States, since June 20, 1874, for the purpose of retiring National Bank circulation, \$25,523,057; balance of deposits of banks in liquidation previous to that date, \$3,818,675, making \$19,336,732—less circulation retired and destroyed, \$9,627,066—leaving, July 1, legal tenders now deposited with the Treasurer by banks retiring their circulation, \$19,709,666; legal-tender notes withdrawn from circulation, being eighty per centum upon \$7,785,525 additional circulation issued under the act of January 14, 1875, \$6,228,420.

## LEGAL-TENDERS—ADDITIONAL CIRCULATION ISSUED.

The Comptroller of the Currency reports the amount of additional circulation issued during the month of June at \$1,315,525. The amount of legal tender notes deposited during the same period, \$3,009,626. Additional circulation issued since the passage of the act of June 20, 1874, \$11,601,892. Amount of circulation destroyed and retired during the same time, \$9,627,066, showing the actual increase of Bank circulation during the year of \$1,978,826.

Amount of legal-tender notes deposited for the purpose of retiring the circulation since the passage of the same act, \$25,523,057, and amount deposited by banks in liquidation previous to that date, \$3,813,675, making a total of \$29,336,732.

Deducting from this the amount of \$9,627,066, the amount of circulation permanently retired will leave \$1,976,766 legal-tender

notes on deposit July 1, for the purpose of retiring the circulation.

## REDEMPTION OF BANK NOTES.

The total amount of National Bank notes redeemed and assorted at the National Bank Redemption Agency during the year ending June 30, is \$130,322,945. Of this amount \$115,119,445 consisted of notes unfit for circulation, which were delivered to the Comptroller of the Currency for destruction and replacement with new notes. \$15,213,500 were notes fit for circulation, which were forwarded by express to the several National Banks by which they were issued.

## RETIRING FRACTIONAL CURRENCY.

Under the act of July 18, 1874, providing for the resumption of specie payments, the Treasury Department has disposed of about \$10,000,000 of the bonds known as five per cents., authorized by the act of July 14, 1870, and with the proceeds has purchased about \$9,000,000 in silver for the purpose of retiring the fractional currency.

## RETIREMENT OF FIVE-DOLLAR NOTES.

The Comptroller of the Currency desires to retire all circulating notes of the denomination of five dollars of the following Banks, the notes of that denomination having been successfully counterfeited: The First, Third and Traders' National Banks, Chicago; First National Bank, Paxton, Ill.; First National Bank, Canton, Ill. National Banks throughout the country are requested to return all notes of these banks of the denomination of five dollars to the Treasury for redemption, and no additional issues of this denomination will hereafter be issued to these Banks.

## EXPRESS CHARGES FOR CARRYING BANKING CURRENCY.

Adams Express Company has for a long time been engaged in carrying for the Treasury Department the National Bank notes sent from Washington to the different institutions throughout the country, and on such currency as is sent here for redemption by Banks. Their charge for this was at the rate of twenty-five cents on the \$1,000 carried. They now declare the risk they incur is too great to permit them to engage further in the business at that rate of remuneration, and accordingly demand one dollar on the

\$1,000, which they state is half brokers' rates. They have notified the Secretary of the Treasury that after the 5th of August, thirty days from date of notification, they will make their charge for carriage at the increased prices mentioned. As the daily receipts of National Bank notes exceeds at times a million dollars, the proposed change becomes an important question to the National Banks.

**TREASURY DECISIONS—DUTIABLE ARTICLES INTRODUCED THROUGH THE MAILS—THE ADMISSION OF WORKS OF ART.**

In a letter dated June 29, Secretary Brewster says:

"I may add that the importation of valuable articles into the United States by means of newspapers or letters through the mails, has no sanction in law, and if attempted with intent to evade the payment of duties subjects the articles to forfeiture, and parties making such attempt, or knowingly receiving such articles, to prosecution for penalties provided by law."

The provision in the free list for the admission of works of art, the production of American artists, is held not to include copies of such productions, unless such copies are actually made by American artists; nor does the mere importation by artists suffice to give such copies the character of productions of an American artist, which alone entitles them to free entry.

**INTERNAL REVENUE RECEIPTS OF 1874 AND 1875 COMPARED.**

The following detailed statement shows the aggregate of certificates of deposit received at the Treasury Department from internal revenue during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1875, as compared with receipts from the same source during the year ended June 30, 1874:

Month	1874.	1875
July .....	\$8,818,094.21	\$9,460,940.42
August ....	8,525,057.20	8,501,784.85
September ..	8,803,070.95	8,569,017.42
October .....	6,923,462.10	9,209,513.98
November.....	6,713,577.79	8,610,855.84
December.....	8,067,050.56	8,893,461.14
January .....	9,698,292.52	8,700,134.70
February .....	8,104,171.55	12,614,454.07
March .....	7,781,713.63	8,244,221.83
April .....	8,411,241.50	7,022,304.92
May .....	11,326,333.04	11,450,274.13
June .....	9,189,602.05	8,426,092.65
Total.....	\$102,361,577.10	\$109,788,058.95

**THE WHISKY FRAUDS—SEIZURES—PROSECUTIONS.**

The result of the late raid on illicit whisky is thus summarized by the Internal Revenue Department:

"Amount of money assessed against distillers, \$317,000; fines assessed against rectifiers, \$347,000; number of distilleries and rectifying houses seized, 47; seizures of illicit whisky in hands of dealers other than distillers and rectifiers, 152. It is estimated that the expense of trial will average \$100 to each case, \$20 of which will probably go to the district attorneys. If successful the other \$80 in each case will have to be paid by defendants.

"In all cases where packages have been seized in the hands of dealers, conviction may not be secured, but in the cases of distillers and rectifiers the evidence in possession of the Government is abundant and convincing. The dealers claim the illicit packages found in their possession were purchased in the usual manner; that they contained all the outward marks of being lawful merchandise; and that there was no purpose on their part to defraud the Government. The number of officers dismissed in consequence of the revelations made, is 66. Of these 40 were gaugers, 13 storekeepers, 4 revenue agents, 3 collectors, 2 deputy collectors, 2 supervisors, and 2 district attorneys.

**IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.**

The merchandise and specie imports and exports for April and May, as furnished by the Statistical Bureau, are as follows:

**MERCHANDIZE.**

**Imports—specie value:**

April.....	\$43,582,377
May.....	48,521,033

**Exports, domestic goods, specie value:**

April.....	\$38,510,104
May.....	36,289,474

**Exports, foreign goods, specie value:**

April.....	\$1,074,778
May.....	1,208,099

**Total exports, domestic and foreign goods:**

April.....	\$39,584,882
May.....	37,497,573

**GOLD AND SILVER.**

**Imports, coin and bullion, specie value:**

April.....	\$2,450,186
May.....	1,209,579

**Exports, domestic coin and bullion, specie value:**

April.....	\$5,179,503
May.....	8,832,538

Exports, domestic and foreign, specie value :	
April .....	\$6,767,533
May .....	10,125,128

## STATISTICS OF IMMIGRATION.

From returns made to the Bureau of Statistics it appears that there arrived at the port of New York during the month of June, 1875, 13,989 immigrants, of whom 7,651 were males, and 6,338 females. During the month of June, 1874, there arrived at the same port 20,602 immigrants, of whom 11,547 were males, and 9,055 females. For the three months ended June 31, 1875, 45,566 immigrants arrived in New York, of whom 25,635 were males, and 19,931 females. For the corresponding period of 1874 the number of arrivals was 68,955, showing a decrease of 23,389 in 1875. Of the total number arrived during the month of June, 1875, 3,264 came from Germany; 2,192 from Ireland, and 2,246 from England.

## ACTUAL BANK-NOTE CIRCULATION.

The following is from the *Memphis, Tenn., Appeal*.

The *Chicago Times* calls attention to the fact that the national bank notes outstanding amount to \$19,282,300, and that the bonds deposited to secure them amount to only \$75,735,500. As the law requires that notes shall not be issued beyond ninety per cent. of the bonds deposited to secure them, the amount of bonds necessary to secure the reported circulation is \$218,084,788. It follows, therefore, that the circulation is reported to be greater than it really is, or that the amount of security bonds is reported less, or that the bonds deposited are \$12,359,288 less than the law requires. Here we have one of the mysteries of the treasury book-keeping; and it is not cleared up at all by the statement published by Comptroller Knox, about the middle of last month, that the bank circulation had been contracted nearly \$16,000,000, under the act of June, 1874, which would bring the total bank circulation down to about \$33,000,000. The public would thank Mr. Knox to state the exact truth of the matter, if he knows or can find out what it is.

Many of the charges of the newspaper press, made against the Bureau of the United States Treasury, grow out of typographical errors of the press. In the above the first line of figures, as given in the *Appeal*, (\$319,282,309), was reported from the Comptroller's office \$349,282,309, and should have been so printed. This error of the press makes a difference of \$30,000,000.

The official report of the actual bank-note circulation on the 1st July, 1875, is as follows:

Amount of circulation actually outstanding, July 1, 1875 .....	\$346,393,869
Amount due banks for mutilated circulation returned .....	5,475,139
National bank circulation .....	\$351,869,008

This circulation is secured by

1. U. S. bonds amounting to .....	\$376,314,500
90 per cent. upon which circulation is issued, equal to .....	338,683,150
2. Legal-tenders deposited with the Treasurer U. S. for insolvent and liquidating banks..	6,319,652
And for banks reducing their circulation .....	13,390,015
	<u>\$3 8,392,817</u>

Making an excess of security of \$6,523,009, besides the 10 per cent. margin on \$376,314,500 U. S. bonds, which is \$37,631,400, and the premium which the same bonds would bring in the market, ranging from 116 to 121½. This is official, and "the exact truth" called for. It will therefore be seen that the *Chicago Times* and *Memphis Appeal* are entirely in error in the statement that the outstanding national bank circulation is greater than the security for the same.

## INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

THE INDIANS—CIRCULAR TO AGENTS—SERVICES OF SPECIAL ATTORNEYS OR AGENTS OF THE TRIBES TO BE DISPENSED WITH.

WASHINGTON, July 11, 1875.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs has issued the following circular to Indian agents:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 10, 1875.

SIR:—Owing to the unnecessary expense and confusion and the not infrequent fraudulent practices which are liable to arise from the employment of attorneys and agents by the Indians for the presentation of their wishes and the prosecution of their tribal business before the department, hereafter, by the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, no such services on the part of agents or attorneys will be recognized by this Bureau, unless the party proposing to act as agent or attorney for any Indian tribe, shall have first submitted the matter in which he desires to act for the Indians for the consideration of the department, and shall have received specific authority from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, approved by the Secretary of the Interior, to go before said Indians and propose to them to undertake such service in their behalf; and in all cases any conference or negotiation with the Indians by any parties acting under the authority of this regulation must be conducted in open council, called in the usual manner and in the presence of the Indian agent.

You will call the attention of your Indians to this regulation, if any occasion exists among them for so doing; and you will acquaint them fully that it is not the design of

the department, in the regulations hereby established, in any way to hinder the prosecution of their business, but to save them from unnecessary expense and protect them from the designs of evil men; and you will also instruct them that it is the wish of the department that all their business be conducted through their agent. And whenever they have anything which they may desire to communicate to this office, it will be the duty of the agent to transmit such communication, giving full information as to their wishes. E. P. SMITH, Commissioner.

### NAVY DEPARTMENT.

#### CONTRACTS FOR NAVY YARD SUPPLIES AWARDED.

The contracts for furnishing supplies to the Navy Yards throughout the country, bids for which were opened recently, have been awarded. Among those who have received contracts are George H. Creed, D. Babcock & Co., William A. Hyatt, Walton Brothers, Degraw, Aymar & Co., J. W. Duryee, and Samuel G. French, of New York; Howard, Snelling & Co., and Gayle & Co., of Boston; R. H. Powell & Co., of Philadelphia; R. H. Hawley, of Chicago; Watson & Pettinger, of Brooklyn; Whittier, Fuller & Co., and Farwell & Co., of San Francisco; and Linforth, Kellogg & Co., of Mare Island, Cal.

#### THE YELLOW FEVER SCOURGE.

Prominent medical and other officers of the navy who have at various times been in localities afflicted with the yellow fever, and paid some attention to its cause and treatment, express the opinion that it would be wise, as a timely precaution, for all the Southern cities on the Atlantic coast to make and enforce stringent sanitary rules, as the early appearance of the fever at Key West, Fla., is an indication that it may extend along the coast this summer.

### GENERAL POST OFFICE.

#### POSTAL CARDS AND STAMPS.

Reports just made by Third Assistant Postmaster General Barbers show that 107,616,000 postal cards were issued during the fiscal year which ended June 30 last, against 91,079,000 issued for the year which ended June 30, 1874. The increase is equivalent to about 18 1-6 per cent., which shows that the postal cards are growing in popular favor.

The value of the issue of ordinary postage stamps during the year ending June 30, 1875, was \$18,271,479, an increase of \$996,237 over the previous year; of newspaper and periodical postage stamps, \$815,902.47; of ordinary stamped envelopes and wrappers, \$4,124,477.34, an increase of \$242,245.58; of postal cards, \$1,076,160; of total issues for sale to the public, \$24,288,018.81, an increase of \$2,219,794.05 over the fiscal year ended June 30, 1874. The sale of official postage stamps for the fiscal year amounted to \$834,979.25, a decrease of \$581,874.95 since June 30, 1874; official stamped envelopes, \$354,522.18, an increase of \$1,065.52 over the year 1874.

### U. S. SUPREME COURT.

#### CONFEDERATE MONEY—SUPREME COURT DECISION—ITS INVALIDITY IN THE SETTLEMENT OF DEBTS DURING THE WAR.

The Supreme Court, in the case of Catharine Fretz, survivor, etc., against Ralph Stover, executor of Charles Stover et al; an appeal from the Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, has rendered a decision as follows:

"The controversy in this case grows out of a bond executed by Charles Stover to Fretz and wife, on the 8th day of April, 1861, for \$2,366.18, payable on or before the 1st day of March, 1863. The bond was executed in Fauquier county, Va., where Stover lived, and was secured by a deed of trust on land in that county, both of which were delivered to Samuel Chilton, by Stover, on the day of their date. The execution and delivery of these obligations were in pursuance of a settlement made in the preceding month of February at Warrenton, Virginia, by Fretz and Stover of a long-pending litigation. The war of the rebellion ensued soon after the settlement, and all communication ceased, and, indeed, became unlawful between Pennsylvania and Virginia. After the war had closed, on inquiry, it was found that Stover, a short time before the bond matured and in satisfaction of it, had paid to Chilton Virginia bank notes and Confederate paper at their nominal or par value, and got possession of the bond or deed of trust. Naturally, Fretz and wife were dissatisfied with these proceedings, and in repudiation of them they filed their bill in chancery to set up the deed of trust and have it enforced, on the ground that Chilton had no authority to receive payment in such



paper, nor Stover the right to make it. The bill charges actual fraud between Chilton and Stover, in this, that Stover, taking advantage of Chilton's great pecuniary necessities, induced him to receive the paper at par in payment and discharge of the bond.

"Stover filed his answer denying that these payments were the result of an unlawful and fraudulent combination between the respondent and Chilton. He insists, however, that they were in law a full discharge and satisfaction of the debt and trust deed; but, if this were not so, that, to the extent of the compensation due by Fretz and wife to Chilton for professional services, he should not be compelled to pay a second time.

"We are brought directly to the question whether the payments by Charles Stover to Samuel Chilton were, under the circumstances surrounding the parties, of any validity. The decision is that the instructions given to Chilton by his client were not applicable to a state of war, and that his settlement for money current in the Confederacy was void, and that Stover had no right to discharge the debt in anything but legal money of the United States."

Mr. Justice Davis delivered the opinion of the Court.

#### NEW BOOKS RECEIVED.

[To be reviewed hereafter.]

**AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONS:** Comprising the Constitution of each State in the Union, and of the United States, with the Declaration of Independence and Articles of Confederation; each accompanied by a historical introduction and notes, together with a careful analysis of the Constitutions, according to their subjects, showing by comparative arrangement every constitutional provision now in force in the several States; with reference to judicial decisions, and an analytical index; illustrated by carefully engraved *fac-similes* of the great seals of the United States, and of each State and Territory. By Franklin B. Hough. In two volumes, octavo. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1872.

**MACREADY'S REMINISCENCES**, and selections from his Diary and Letters. Edited by Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., one of his executors. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square, 1875.

**A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.** By J. R. Green, M. A., Examiner in the School of Modern History, Oxford. With Maps and Tables. New York: Harper &

Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square. 1875.

**OUR NEXT DOOR NEIGHBOR.** A Winter in Mexico. By Gilbert Haven. With illustrations and maps. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square, 1875.

**MAN AND BEAST.** Here and Hereafter. By Rev. J. G. Wood, M. A. Harper & Brothers.

**WALTER'S WORD.** By James Payn. Paper covers. Harpers.

**BLUE BEARD'S KEYS.** and other Stories. By Miss Thackeray. Paper covers. Harpers.

WE are not prepared to believe that the *Catholic Telegraph* faithfully represents the sentiments of our Catholic fellow citizens, but the following extract from its issue of June 24th, shows how deeply rooted its prejudice is against our common school system:

"Catholics who think they can approve of the secular system of public education which has been adopted in this country, would do well to acquaint themselves with the dogmatic decisions of the Holy See contained in the 47th and 48th propositions of the Syllabus. '*Aut mundus errat Christus*'—'either the world or Christ errs.' In the Syllabus the Church has explicitly and absolutely condemned education, from which religious instruction has been eliminated. If any Catholic approves of this relic of paganism, he must, as a consequence, hold that the Church has erred, and he has therefore, given his assent to heresy. There is no way in which he can evade this conclusion. No sophistry is strong enough to enable him to pass this deepest of spiritual pitfalls. On this point, as in all other matters of doctrine, he must either be with Christ or against Him. He cannot make a neutral position upon which the condemnation of the Holy See does not fall."

WE often hear Thomas Jefferson spoken of as "the father of Democracy." This is true in one sense and false in another. Jefferson's party up to 1816 was known as the Republican party. It was so called by Jefferson, known as such among its followers, and was so styled in all the party calls published during that period. Therefore, correctly speaking, Jefferson was the father of the Republican party. The term, Democracy, was fixed upon Jefferson's party by its opponents in order to create odium against it. After Jefferson's time it became a popular name with the party and was finally adopted by it.

Table showing Capitals of States, Governors and their Salaries, when their Terms Expire, when Legislatures Meet and Elections are Held.

States.	Capitals.	Governors.	Salary.	Term Expires.	Legislature Meets.	State Elections.
Alabama.....	Montgomery.....	George S. Houston...	\$1,000	Nov., 1876...	November, 1875...	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov '76
Arkansas .....	Little Rock.....	Augustus H. Garland	3,500	Jan., 1877...	*November, 1876...	First Tuesday after 2d Mon. Nov '76
California .....	Sacramento.....	Ronald Pacheco.....	7,000	Dec., 1875...	*December, 1875...	First Wednesday in September '75.
Connecticut.....	Hartford & N. Haven...	Chas. R. Ingersoll...	2,000	May, 1876...	May, 1876.....	First Monday in April 1876.....
Delaware.....	Dover.....	John P. Cochran.....	1,333	Jan., 1879...	*January, 1877...	First Tuesday aft. 1st Mon. Nov. '76
Florida.....	Tallahassee.....	Marcellus L. Stearns	3,500	Jan., 1877...	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday Nov. 1876
Georgia.....	Atlanta.....	James M. Smith.....	4,000	Jan., 1877...	*January, 1877...	First Wednesday in October 1876...
Illinois.....	Springfield.....	John L. Beveridge...	2,500	Jan., 1877...	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday Nov. 1876
Indiana.....	Indianapolis.....	Thos. A. Hendricks...	3,000	Jan., 1877...	*January, 1877...	Second Tuesday in October 1876...
Iowa.....	Des Moines.....	Cyrus C. Carpenter...	2,500	Jan., 1876...	*January, 1876...	Second Tuesday in October Nov. 1875
Kansas.....	Topeka.....	Thos. A. Osborn.....	3,000	Jan., 1877...	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday Nov. 1875
Kentucky.....	Frankfort.....	Preston H. Leslie...	5,000	Sept., 1875...	*December, 1875...	First Monday in August 1875.....
Louisiana.....	New Orleans.....	Wm Pitt Kellogg.....	8,000	Jan., 1877...	January, 1876....	First Monday in November 1876....
Maine.....	Augusta.....	Nelson Dingley, Jr...	2,500	Jan., 1876...	January, 1876....	Second Monday in September 1875.
Maryland.....	Annapolis.....	James B. Groom.....	4,500	Jan., 1876...	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '75
Massachusetts...	Boston.....	Wm. Gaston.....	5,000	Jan., 1876...	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '75
Michigan.....	Lansing.....	John J. Bagley.....	1,000	Jan., 1877...	*January, 1877...	First Tuesday aft. 1st Mon. Nov '75
Minnesota.....	St. Paul.....	Cushman K. Davis...	3,000	Jan., 1876...	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '75
Mississippi.....	Jackson.....	Adelbert Ames.....	3,000	Jan., 1878...	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '75
Missouri.....	Jefferson City.....	Chas H. Hudson.....	5,000	Jan., 1877...	*December, 1876...	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '76
Nebraska.....	Lincoln.....	Silas Garber.....	1,200	Jan., 1877...	*January, 1877...	Second Tuesday in October 1876....
Nevada.....	Carson City.....	Louis R. Braden.....	6,000	Jan., 1877...	January, 1877...	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '76
New Hampshire...	Concord.....	Person C. Cheney.....	1,000	June, 1877...	June, 1876....	Second Tuesday in March 1876....
New Jersey.....	Trenton.....	Joseph D. Bedell...	3,000	Jan., 1877...	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '75
New York.....	Albany.....	Samuel J. Tilden.....	10,000	Jan., 1877...	January, 1876....	First Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '75
North Carolina...	Raleigh.....	Curtis H. Brogden...	5,000	Jan., 1877...	*November, 1876...	First Thursday in August 1876....
Ohio.....	Columbus.....	Wm Allen.....	4,000	Jan., 1876...	January, 1876....	Second Tuesday in October 1875....
Oregon.....	Salem.....	Lafayette F. Grover...	1,500	Sept., 1878...	September, 1876...	First Monday in June 1876.....
Pennsylvania.....	Harrisburg.....	Jno. F. Hartranft...	5,000	Jan., 1876...	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '75
Rhode Island.....	Newport & Providence.	Henry Lippitt.....	1,000	May, 1876...	May and Jan., '76	First Wednesday in April 1876....
South Carolina...	Columbia.....	D. H. Chamberlain...	4,000	Jan., 1877...	*November, 1876...	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '76
Tennessee.....	Nashville.....	James D. Porter, Jr...	3,000	Jan., 1878...	*October, 1875...	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '76
Texas.....	Austin.....	R. Hard Coke.....	5,000	Jan., 1878...	January, 1876....	First Tuesday in November, 1875...
Vermont.....	Montpelier.....	Asabel Peck.....	1,000	Oct., 1876...	*October, 1876....	First Tuesday in September 1876...
Virginia.....	Richmond.....	James L. Kemper.....	5,000	Jan., 1878...	December, 1875...	First Tuesday aft. 1st Mon in Nov. '75
West Virginia...	Charleston.....	John J. Jacob.....	2,700	March, 1877...	*January, 1877...	Second Tuesday in October 1876....
Wisconsin.....	Madison.....	W. M. R. Taylor.....	5,000	Jan., 1876...	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '75

Democrats in *italics*. Independents in **SMALL CAPITALS**. \* Biennial sessions and elections.